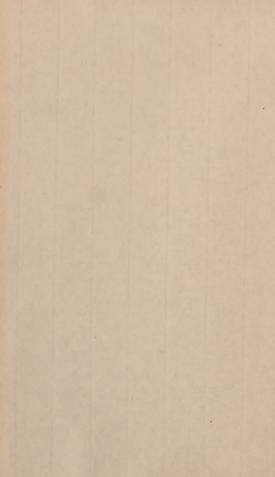






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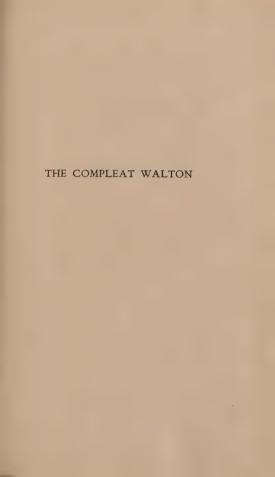


















IZAAK WALTON THE COMPLEAT ANGLER THE LIVES OF DONNE WOTTON HOOKER HERBERT & SANDERSON

WITH LOVE AND TRUTH &

MISCELLANEOUS WRITINGS

EDITED BY GEOFFREY KEYNES

ILLUSTRATIONS BY THOMAS POULTON

AND CHARLES SIGRIST



THE NONESUCH PRESS

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I

В





To the Right Worshipful JOHN OFFLEY of Madely Manor in the County of Stafford Esq.: My Most Honoured FRIEND

*

SIR,

I HAVE made so ill use of your former favours, as by them to be encouraged to intreat that they may be enlarged to the patronage and protection of this Book; and I have put on a modest confidence, that I shall not be deny'd, because it is a Discourse of Fish and Fishing, which you know so well, and both love and practice so much.

You are assured (though there be ignorant men of another belief) that Angling is an Ant; and you know that Ant better than others; and, that this is truth is demonstrated by the fruits of that pleasant labour which you enjoy when you purpose to give rest to your mind, and divest your self of your more serious business, and (which is often) dedicate a day or two to this Recreation.

At which time, if common Anglers should attend you, and be eye witnesses of the success, not of your fortune but your skill, it would doubtless beget in them an emulation to be like you, and that emulation might beget an industrious diligence to be so: but I know it is not attainable by common capacities. And there be now many men of great wisdom, learning, and experience, that love and practise this Art, that know I speak the truth.

Sir, This pleasant curiosity of Fish and Fishing, (of which you are so great a Master) has been thought worthy the pens and practites of divers in other Nations, that have been reputed men of great learning and wisdom, and amongst those of this Nation, I remember Sir Henry Wotton (a dear lover of this Art) has told me that his intentions were to write a Discourse of the Art, and in praise of Angling, and doubtless he had done so, if death had not prevented him; the remembrance of which hath often made me sorry, for if he had lived to do it, then

the unlearned Angler had seen some better Treatise of this Art, a Treatise worthy his perusal, which (though some have undertaken) I could never yet see in English.

But mine may be thought as weak and as unworthy of common view; and I do here freely confess, that I should rather excuse my self, than censure others, my own Discourse being liable to so many exceptions; against which you (Sir) might make this one, That it can contribute nothing to your Knowledge. And lest a longer Epistle may diminish your pleasure, I shall not adventure to make this Epistle any longer than to add this following truth, That I am really,

SIR,

Your most affectionate Friend,

and most bumble Servant,

Iz. WA.



To all Readers of this Discourse but especially to the HONEST ANGLER

I think fit to tell thee these following truths, That I did neither undertake, nor write, nor publish, and much less own, this Discourse to please my self: and baving been too easily drawn to please others, as I propos'd not the gaining of credit by this undertaking, so I would not willingly lose any part of that to which I had a just title before I begun it, and therefore desire and hope, if I deserve not commendation, yet I may obtain pardon.

And though this Discourse may be lyable to some Exceptions, yet I cannot doubt but that most Readers may receive so much pleasure or profit by it, as may make it worthy the time of their perusal, if they be not very busie men. And this is all the confidence that I can put on concerning the merit of what is here offered to their consideration and censure; and if the last prove too severe, I have a liberty, and am resolv'd to neglect it.

And I wish the Reader also to take notice, that in writing of it I have made myself a recreation of a recreation; and that it might prove so to him, and not read dull and tediously, I have in several places mixt (not any scurrility, but) some innocent, harmless mirth; of which, if thou be a severe sowrecomplexion'd man, then I here disallow thee to be a competent judge; for Divines say, There are offences given, and offences not given but taken.

And I am the willinger to justifie the pleasant part of it, because, though it is known I can be serious at seasonable times, yet the whole Discourse is, or rather was, a picture of my own disposition, especially in such dayes and times as I have laid aside business, and gone a fishing with honest Nat. and R. Roe; but they are gone, and with them most of my pleasant hours, even as a shadow that passeth away, and returns not.

And next let me add this, that he that likes not the book, should like the excellent picture of the trout, and some of the other fish, which I may take a liberty to commend, because they concern not my self.

Next let me tell the Reader, that in that which is the more useful part of this Discourse, that is to say, the observations of the nature and breeding, and seasons, and catching of fish, I am not so simple as not to know, that a captious Reader may find exceptious against something said of some of these; and therefore I must intreat him to consider, that experience teaches us to know, that several Countries alter the time, and I think almost the manner of fishes breeding, but doubtless of their being in season; as may appear by three Rivers in Monmountshire, namely Severn, Wie, and Usk, where Cambden (Brit. f. 633) observes, that in the river Wie, Salmon are in season from Sept. to April, and we are certain, that in Thames and Trent, and in most other Rivers they be in season the six hotter moneths.

Now for the Art of catching fish, that is to say, how to make a man that was none, to be an Angler by a book; be that undertakes it shall undertake a hearder task than Mr. Hales (a most valiant and excellent Fenere) who in act printed book called, A private School of Defence, undertook by it to teach that art or science, and was laugh'd at for his labour. Not but that many useful things might be learnt by that book, but he was laugh'd at, because that art was not to be taught by words, but practice: and so must Angling. And in this Discourse I do not undertake to say all that is known, or may be said of it, but I undertake to acquaint the Reader with many things that are not usually known to every Angler; and I shall leave gleanings and observations crough to be made out of the experience of all that love and practise this recreation, to which I shall encourage them. For Angling may be said to be so like the Mathematicks, that it can ne'r be fully learnt; at least not so fully, but that there will stil be more new experiments left for the trial of other men that succeed us.

But I think all that love this game may here learn something that may be worth their money, if they be not poor and needy men; and in case they he, I then wish them to forbear to buy it; for I write not to get money, but for pleasure, and this Discourse boasts of no more; for I hate to promise much, and decive the Reader.

And however it proves to him, yet I am sure I have found a high content in the search and conference of what is here offer a to his view and censure: I wish him as much in the perusal of it, and so I might here take my leave, but will stay a little and tell him, that whereas it is said by many, that in

TO ALL READERS

flye-fishing for a Trout, the Angler must observe his twelve several flies for the twelve moneths of the year; I say be that follows that rule, shall be as sure to catch fish, and be as wise as he that makes Hay by the fair dayes in an Almanack, and no surer; for those very flyes that use to appear about and on the water in one moneth of the year, may the following year come almost a moneth sooner or later, as the same year proves colder or botter; and yet in the following Discourse I have set down the twelve flyes that are in reputation with many Anglers, and they may serve to give him some light concerning them. And he may note that there is in Wales, and other Countries, peculiar flyes, proper to the particular place or Country; and doubtless, unless a man makes a flye to counterfeit that very flye in that place, he is like to lose his labour, or much of it: But for the generality, three or four flyes neat and rightly made, and not too big, serve for a Trout in most rivers all the Summer. And for Winter flie fishing it is as useful as an Almanack out of date. And of these (because as no man is born an artist, so no man is born an angler) I thought fit to give thee this notice.

When I have told the Reader, that in this third Impression there are many enlargements, gathered both by my own observation, and the communication of friends, I shall stay him no longer than to wish him a rainy evening to read this following Discourse; and that (if he he an honest Angler) the East wind may never blow when he goes a Fishine.

I. W.

JAK.

To my dear Brother-in-law Mr. Iz. Walton, upon his Compleat Angler.

ERASMUS in his learned Colloquies
Has mixt some toyes, that by varieties
He might entice all Readers: for in him
Each child may wade, or tallest giant swim.
And such is this Discourse: there's none so low,
Or highly learn'd, to whom hence may not flow
Pleasure and information: both which are
Taught us with so much art, that I might swear
Safely, the choicest Critick cannot tell,
Whether your matchless judgment most excell
In Angling or its praises: where commendation
First charms, then makes an art a recreation.

'Twas so to me: who saw the chearful Spring Pictur'd in every meadow, heard birds sing Sonnets in every grove, saw fishes play In the cool crystal streams, like lambs in May: And they may play, till Anglers read this book; But after, 'tis a wise fish scapes a hook.

Jo. FLOUD, Mr. of Arts.

To the Reader of the Compleat Angler.

First mark the Title well; my Friend that gave it Has made it good; this book deserves to have it. _ For he that views it with judicious looks, Shall find it full of art, baits, lines, and hooks. The world the river is; both you and I,

The world the river is; both you and And all mankind, are either fish or fry:

If we pretend to reason, first or last His baits will tempt us, and his books hold fast. Pleasure or profit, either prose or rhime, If not at first will doubtless take's in time.

Here sits in secret blest Theology,
Waited upon by grave Philosophy,
Both natural and moral; History
Deck'd and abord' with flowers of Poetry;
The matter and expression striving which
Shall most excell in worth, yet not seem rich:
There is no danger in his baits; that hook
Will prove the safest, that is surest took.

Nor are we caught alone, but (which is best) We shall be wholsom, and he toothsom drest: Drest to be fed, not to be fed upon; And danger of a surfeit here is none. The solid food of serious Contemplation Is sauc'd here, with such harmless recreation, That an ingenuous and religious mind Cannot inquire for more than it may find Ready at once prepar'd, either t' excite Or satisfie a curious appetite.

More praise is due; for tis both positive And truth, which once was interrogative, And utter d by the Poet then in jest, Et piscatorem piscis amare potest.

C. H., Mr. of Arts.

To my dear Friend, Mr. Iz. Walton, in praise of Angling, which we both love.

Down by this smooth streams wandering side, Adorn'd and perfum'd with the pride Of Flota's Wardrobe, where the shrill Aerial Quire express their skill,

First in alternate melody,
And then in chorus all agree.
Whilst the charm'd fish, as cestasi'd
With sounds, to his own throat deny'd,
Scorns his dull Element, and springs
I' th' air, as if his Fins were wings.

'Tis here that pleasures sweet and high Prostrate to our embraces lye. Such as to Body, Soul, or Fame Create no sickness, sin or shame. Roses not few, duith pricks grow here, No sting to th' Honey-bog is near. But (what's perhaps their prejudice) They difficulty want and price.

An obvious Rod, a twist of bair, With hook hid in an insect, are Engines of sport, would fit the wish O' th' Epicure and fill his dish.

In this clear stream let fall a Grub, And straight take up a Dace or Chub. I' th' mud, your worm provokes a Snig, Which being fast, if it prove big, The Gotham folly will be found Discreet, e're ta'ne she must be drown'd, The Tench (Physician of the Brook) In you dead hole expects your book, Which having first your pastime been, Serves then for meat or medicine. Ambush'd behind that root doth stay A Pike, to catch and be a prey. The treacherous Quill in this slow stream Betrayes the bunger of a Bream. And at that nimbler Ford, (no doubt) Your false flye cheats a speckled Trout. When you these creatures wisely chuse

To practise on, which to your use Owe their creation, and when Fish from your arts do rescue men, To plot, delude, and circumvent, Ensnare and spoil, is innocent. Here by these crystal streams you may Preserve a Conscience clear as they, And when by sullen thoughts you find Your harassed, not busied, mind In sable melancholly clad. Distemper'd, serious, turning sad: Hence fetch your cure, cast in your bait, All anxious thoughts and cares will straight Fly with such speed, they'l seem to be Possest with the Hydrophobie. The waters calmness in your breast, And smoothness on your brow shall rest.

Away with sports of charge and noise, Sweeter are cheap and silent toves. Such as Actaeons game pursue. Their fate oft makes the Tale seem true. The sick or sullen Hawk to day Flyes not: to-morrow, quite away. Patience and Purse to Cards and Dice Too oft are made a sacrifice: The Daughters dowre, th' inheritance O' th' son, depend on one mad chance. The harms and mischiefs which th' abuse Of wine doth every day produce, Make good the doctrine of the Turks, That in each grape a devil lurks. And by yon fading sapless tree, Bout which the Ivve twin'd you see, His fate's foretold, who fondly places His bliss in womans soft embraces.

All pleasures, but the Anglers, bring I' th' tail repentance like a sting.

Then on these banks let me sit down, Free from the toilsom Sword and Gown, And pity those that do affect

To conquer Nations and protect.

My Reed affords such true content,
Delights so sweet and innocent,
As seldom faelt unto the lot

Of Scentres, though they'r justly got.

THO. WEAVER, Mr. of Arts.

To the Readers of my most ingenuous Friends Book, The Compleat Angler.

He that both knew and writ the lives of men, Such as were once, but must not be agen: Witness his matchless Donne and Wootten, by Whose aid he could their speculations try: He that convers'd with Angels, such as were Ouldsworth and Featly, each a shining star Shewing the way to Bethlem; each a Saint; Compar'd to whom our Zelots now but paint: He that our pious and learn'd Morley knew, And from him suck'd wit and devotion too: He that from these such excellencies fetch'd, That He could tell how high and far they reach'd; What learning this, what speces th' other had:

Reader, this HE, this Fisherman comes forth, And in these Fishers weeds would shroud his worth. Now his mute Harp is on a Willow hung, With which when finely toucht, and fitly strung,

And in what sev'ral dress each soul was clad.

He could friends passions for these times allay: Or chain his fellow-Anglers from their prev. But now the musick of his pen is still, And he sits by a brook watching a quill: Where with a fixt eye, and a ready hand, He studies first to book, and then to land Some Trout, or Pearch, or Pike; and baving done, Sits on a bank, and tells how this was won. And that escap'd his book; which with a wile Did eat the bit, and Fisherman beguile. Thus whilst some vex they from their lands are thrown, He joyes to think the waters are his own; And like the Dutch, he gladly can agree To live at peace now, and bave fishing free. April 3, 1650. EDW. POWEL, Mr. of Arts.

To my dear Brother, Mr. Iz. Walton, on his Compleat Angler.

This Book is so like you, and you like it,
For barmless Mirth, Expression, Art and Wit,
That I protest ingenuously 'tis true,
I love this Mirth, Art, Wit, the Book, and You.
Rob. FLOUD, C.

Charissimo amicissimoque Fratri Domino Isaaco Walton, Artis Piscatoriae peritissimo.

> Unicus est Medicus reliquorum piscis, et istis Fas quibus est Medicum tangere, certa salus. Hic typus est Salvatoris mirandus Jesu, ¹ Litera mysterium quaelibet bujus babet.

1	Ίχθὺς	Piscis.	θ	θεοῦ	Dei.
	Ι Ἰησοῦς	Jesus.	υ	Yids	Filius.
	Χ Χριστδ	s Christus.	.: 2.	Σωτηρ	Salvator.

Hunc cupio, bunc capias (bone frater Arundinis) ${}^{i}\chi\theta\dot{\nu}\dot{\nu};$ 1 Solveret bic pro me debita, teque Deo.
Piscis is est, et piscator, (mibi credito) qualem

Vel piscatorem piscis amare velit.

HENRY BAGLEY, Artium Magister.

¹ Matt. 17, 27, the last words of the Chapter.

THE

COMPLEAT ANGLER

OR THE CONTEMPLATIVE MANS RECREATION

CHAPTER I: A Conference betwixt an Angler,

a Faulkner, and a Hunter, each commending his Recreation.

PISCATOR

VENATOR - AUCEI

P 1 S C. You are well overtaken, Gentlemen, a good morning to you both; I have stretched my legs up Tottenbam-bill to overtake you, hoping your business may occasion you towards Ware this fine fresh May morning.

VENA. Sir, I for my part shall almost answer your hopes, for my purpose is to drink my mornings draught at the Tbatth House in Hodsden, and I think not to rest till I come thither, where I have appointed a friend or two to meet me: but for this Gentleman that you see with me, I know not how far he intends his journey; he came so lately into my company, that I have scarce had time to ask him the question.

A U.C. Sir, I shall by your favour bear you company as far as Theobalds, and there leave you, for then I turn up to a friends house who mews a Hawk for me, which I now long to see.

VENA. Sir, we are all so happy as to have a fine, fresh, cool morning, and I hope we shall each be the happier in the others company. And Gentlemen, that I may not lose yours, I shall either abate or amend my pace to enjoy it; knowing that (as the Italians say) Good company in a journey makes the way to seem the shorter.

A U.C. It may do so Sir, with the help of good discourse, which methinks we may promise from you that both look and speak so cheefully: and for my part I promise you, as an invitation to it, that I will be as free and open hearted, as discretion will allow me to be with strangers.

VENA. And Sir, I promise the like.

PISC. I am right glad to hear your answers, and in confidence you speak the truth, I shall put on a boldnesse to ask you Sir, Whether businesse or pleasure caused you to be so early up, and walk so fast, for this other Gentleman hath declared he is going to see a Hawk, that a friend mews for him.

VENA. Sit mine is a mixture of both, a little businesse and more pleasure, for I intend this day to do all my businesse, and then bestow another day or two in hunting the Otter, which a friend that I go to meet, tells me, is much pleasanter than any other chase whatso-ever; howsoever I mean to try it; for to-morrow morning we shall meet a pack of Otter dogs of noble Mr. Sadlers upon Annuell Hill, who will be there so early, that they intend to prevent the Sunrising.

P 1 S C. Sir, my fortune has answered my desires, and my purpose is to bestow a day or two in helping to destroy some of those villanous vermin, for 1 hate them perfectly, because they love fish so well, or rather, because they destroy so much; indeed so much, that in my judgment all men that keep Otter-dogs ought to have pensions from the King to incourage them to destroy the very breed of those base Otters, they do so much mischief.

VENA. But what say you to the Foxes of the Nation, would not you as willingly have them destroyed? for doubtless they do as much mischief as Otters do.

PISC. Oh Sir if they do, it is not so much to me and my fraternity as those base Vermine the Otters do.

A U.C. Why Sir, I pray, of what Fraternity are you, that you are so angry with the poor Otters?

PISC. I am (Sir) a brother of the Angle, and therefore an enemy to the Otter: for you are to note, that we Anglets all love one another,

and therefore do I hate the Otter both for my own and for their sakes who are of my brotherhood.

VENA. And I am a lover of Hounds, I have followed many a pack of dogs many a mile, and heard many merry men make sport and scoff at Anglers.

A U.C. And I profess myself a Faulkner, and have heard many grave serious men pity them, 'tis such a heavy, contemptible, dull recreation.

PISC. You know Gentlemen, 'tis an easie thing to scoff at any Art or Recreation; a little wit mixt with ill nature, confidence, and malite, will do it; but though they often venture boldly, yet they are often caught even in their own trap, according to that of Lucian, the father of the family of Scoffers.

Lucian well skill'd in scoffing, this hath writ, Friend, that's your folly which you think your wit: This you vent oft, void both of wit and fear, Meaning another, when your self you jeere.

If to this you add what Solomon sayes of Scoffers, That they are abomination to mankind. Let him that thinks fit be a Scoffer still, but I account them enemies to me, and to all that love vertue and Angling.

And for you that have heard many grave serious men pity Anglers; let me tell you Sir, there be many men that are by others taken to be serious grave men, which we contenn and pity. Men that are taken to be grave, because Nature hath made them of a sowre complexion, money-getting-men, men that spend all their time first in getting, and next in anxious care to keep it; men that are condemned to be rich, and then always busic or discontented: for these poor-rich-men, we Anglers pity them perfectly, and stand in no need to borrow their thoughts to think our selves happy. No, no, Sir, we enjoy a contentednesse above the reach of such dispositions, and as the learned and ingenuous Mountagent's sayes like himself freely. When my Cat

¹ In Apol. for Ra. Sebond.

and I entertain each other with mutual apish tricks (as playing with a gatter) who knowes but that I make my Cat more sport than she makes me? shall I conclude her to be simple, that has her time to begin or refuse sportiveness as freely as I my self have? Nay, who knowes but that it is a defect of my not understanding her language (for doubtless Cats talk and reason with one another) that we agree no better: and who knows but that she pitties me for being no wiser, and laughs and censures my follie for making sport for her when we play together."

Thus freely speaks Mountagne concerning Cats, and I hope I may take as great a liberty to blame any man, and laugh at him too, let him be never so serious, that hath not heard what Anglers can say in the justification of their Art and Recreation, which I may again tell you is so full of pleasure, that we need not borrow their thoughts to think our selves happy.

VENA. Sir, you have almost amazed me, for though I am no scoffer, yet I have (I pray let me speak it without offence) alwayes looked upon Anglers as more patient and more simple men, then I fear I shall find you to be.

PISC. Sir. I hope you will not judge my earnestness to be impatience: and for my simplicity, if by that you mean a harmlessness, or that simplicity which was usually found in the primitive Christians, who were (as most Anglers are) quiet men, and followers of peace; men that were so simply-wise, as not to sell their Consciences to buy riches, and with them vexation and a fear to die. If you mean such simple men as lived in those times when there were fewer Lawyers; when men might have had a Lordship safely conveyed to them in a piece of Parchment no bigger than your hand, (though several sheets will not do it safely in this wiser age) I say, Sir, if you take us Anglers to be such simple men as I have spoke of, then my self and those of my Profession will be glad to be so understood: But if by simplicity you meant to express a general defect in those that profess and practise the excellent art of Angling, I hope in time to disabuse you, and make the contrary appear so evidently, that if you will but have patience to hear me, I shall remove all the Anticipations

that discourse, or time, or prejudice have possess'd you with against that laudable and ancient art; for I know it is worthy the knowledge and practice of a wise man.

But (Gentlemen) though I be able to do this, I am not so unmannerly as to engross all the discourse to my self; and, therefore you two having declared your selves, the one to be a lover of Hawks, the other of Hounds, I shall be most glad to hear what you can say in the commendation of that Recreation which you love and practise; and having heard what you can say, I shall be glad to exercise your attention with what I can say concerning my own Recreation, and by this means we shall make the way to seem the shorter: and if you like my motion, I would have Mr. Faullener to begin.

A U.C. Your motion is consented to with all my heart, and to testific it I will begin as you have desired me.

And first, for the Element that I use to trade in, which is the Air, an Element of more worth than weight, an Element that doubtless exceeds both the Earth and Water; for though I sometimes deal in both, yet the Air is most properly mine. I and my Hawks use that most, and it yields us most recreation; it stops not the high soaring of my noble generous Falcon; in it she ascends to such an height, as the dull eyes of beasts and fish are not able to reach to; their bodies are too gross for such high elevations: in the Air my troops of Hawks soar up on high, and when they are lost in the sight of men, then they attend upon and converse with the gods; therefore I think my Eagle is so justly styled, Joves faithful servant in Ordinary: and that very Falcon, that I am now going to see, deserves no meaner a title, for she usually in her flight endangers her self, (like the son of Dedalus) to have her wings scorch'd by the Suns heat, but her mettle makes her careless of danger, for she then heeds nothing, but makes her nimble Pinions cut the fluid air, and so makes her high way over the steepest mountains and deepest rivers, and in her glorious carere looks with contempt upon those high Steeples and magnificent Palaces which we adore and wonder at; from which height I can make her to descend by a word from my mouth (which she both knows and obeyes) to accept of meat from my hand, to own me for

her master, to go home with me, and be willing the next day to afford me the like recreation.

And more, this Element of Air which I profess to trade in, the worth of it is such, and it is of such necessity, that no creature whatstoever, not onely those numerous creatures that feed on the face of the earth, but those various creatures that have their dwelling within the waters, every creature that hath life in its Nostrils stands in need of my Element. The waters cannot preserve the fish without Air, witness the not-breaking of Ice in an extream Frost; the reason is, for that if the inspiring and expiring Organ of any animal be stopt, it suddenly yields to Nature, and dies. Thus necessary is Air to the existence both of fish and beasts, nay, even to man himself; that Air or breath of life, with which God at first inspired Mankind, he, if he wants it, dies presently, becomes a sad object to all that loved and beheld him, and in an instant turns to puttefaction.

Nay more, the very birds of the air, (those that be not Hawks) are both so many and so useful and pleasant to mankind, that I must not let them pass without some observations: They both feed and refresh him; feed him with their choice bodies, and refresh him with their heavenly voices. I will not undertake to mention the several kinds of Fowl by which this is done; and his curious palate pleased by day, and which with their very excrements afford him a soft lodging at night. These I will pass by, but not those little nimble Musicians of the air, that warble forth their curious Ditties, with which Nature hath furnished them to the shame of Art.

As first the Lark, when she means to rejoyce, to chear her self and those that hear her, she then quits the earth, and sings as she ascends higher into the air, and having ended her heavenly imployment, grows then mute and sad to think she must descend to the dull earth, which she would not touch but for necessity.

How do the Black-bird and Thrassel with their melodious voices bid welcome to the cheerful Spring, and in their fixed Moneths warble forth such ditties as no art or instrument can reach to?

Nay, the smaller birds also do the like in their particular seasons,

as namely the Leverock, the Tit-lark, the little Linnet, and the honest Robin, that loves man-kind both alive and dead.

But the Nightingale (another of my Airy Creatures,) breathes such sweet lowd musick out of her little instrumental throat, that it might make mankind to think Miracles are not ceased. He that at midnight, (when the very labourer sleeps securely) should hear (as I have very often) the clear aires, the sweet descants, the natural rising and falling, the doubling and redoubling of her voice, might well be lifted above earth, and say, Lord, what Musick hast thou provided for the Saints in Heaven, when thou affordest bad men such musick on earth!

And this makes me the lesse to wonder at the many Aviaries in Italy, or at the great charge of Varro his Aviarie, the ruines of which are yet to be seen in Rome, and is still so famous there, that it is reckoned for one of those Notables which men of forraign Nations either record or lay up in their memories when they return from travel.

This for the birds of pleasure, of which very much more might be said. My next shall be of Birds of Political use; I think 'tis not to be doubted that Swallowes have been taught to carry Letters betwixt two Armies. But 'tis certain that when the Turks besieged Malta or Rodes (I now remember not which 'twas) Pigeons are then related to carry and recarry Letters. And Mr. G. Sandis in his Travells (fol. 269) relates it to be done betwixt Aleppo and Babylon. But if that be disbelieved, 'tis not to be doubted that the Dove was sent by Noah, to give him notice of Land, when to him all appeared to be Sea, and the Dove proved a faithful messenger. And for the Sacrifices of the Law, a pair of Turtle Doves or young Pigeons were as well accepted as costly Bulls and Rams. And when God would feed the Prophet Elijah, (1 King. 17) after a kind of miraculous manner, he did it by Ravens, who brought him meat morning and evening. Lastly, the Holy Ghost when he descended visibly upon our Saviour, did it by assuming the shape of a Dove. And to conclude this part of my Discourse, pray remember these wonders were done by birds of the Air, the Element in which they and I take so much pleasure.

There is also a little contemptible winged Creature (an inhabitant of my Aerial Element) namely the laborous Ber, of whose Prudence, Policy and regular Government of their own Commonwealth I might say much, as also of their several kinds, and how useful their honey and wax is both for meat and Medicines to mankind; but I will leave them to their sweet labour, without the least disturbance, believing them to be all very busie amongst the herbs and flowers that we see nature puts forth this May morning.

And now to return to my Hawks from whom I have made too long a Digression; you are to note, that they are usually distinguished into two kinds; namely the long-winged and the short-winged Hawk: of the first kind, there be chiefly in use amongst us in this Nation,

The Gerfalcon and Jerkin.
The Falcon and Tassel-gentel.
The Lener and Loncret.
The Bockerel and Bockeret.
The Saker and Sacaret.
The Marlin and Jack Marlin.
The Holy and Jack.
There is the Stelletto of Spain.
The Bloud red Rook from Turky.
The Waskite from Virginia.
And there is of short-winged Hawks
The Eagle and Iron.
The Gosthawk and Tarcel.
The Gosthawk and Musket.
The French Pye of two sorts.

These are reckoned Hawks of note and worth, but we have also of an inferiour rank.

The Stanyel, the Ringtail.

The Raven, the Buzzard.

The forked Kite, the bald Buzzard.

The Hendriver, and others that I forbear to name.

Gentlemen, if I should inlarge my Discourse to the observation of the Eires, the Brancher, the Ramirb Hawk, the Haggard, and the two sorts of Lentners, and then treat of their several Ayries, their Mewings, rare order of easting, and the renovation of their Feathers, their reclaiming, dyeting, and then come to their rare stories of practice; I say, if I should enter into these, and many other observations that I could make, it would be much, very much pleasure to me but least I should break the rules of Civility with you, by taking up more than the proportion of time allotted to me, I will here break off, and intreat you, Mr. Venator, to say what you are able in the commendation of Hunting, to which you are so much affected, and if time will serve, I will beg your favour for a further enlargement of some of those several heads of which I have spoken. But no more at present.

VENA. Well Sir, and I will now take my turn, and will first begin with a commendation of the earth, as you have done most excellently of the Air, the Earth being that Element upon which I drive my pleasant wholesome hungry trade. The Earth is a solid, settled Element; an Element most universally beneficiall both to man and beast; to men who have their several Recreations upon it, as Horse-races, Hunting, sweet smells, pleasant walks. The earth feeds man, and all those several beasts that both feed him, and afford him recreation: What pleasure doth man take in hunting the stately Stag, the generous Buck, the Wild Boar, the cunning Otter, the crafty Fox, and the fearful Hare? And if I may descend to a lower Game, what pleasure is it sometimes with Gins to betray the very vermine of the earth? as namely the Fichat, the Fulimart, the Feret, the Pole-cat, the Mouldwarp, and the like creatures that live upon the face, and within the bowels of the earth. How doth the earth bring forth berbs, flowers and fruits, both for physick and the pleasure of mankind? and above all, to me at least, the fruitful Vine, of which when I drink moderately, it clears my brain, chears my heart, and sharpens my wit. How could Cleopatra have feasted Mark Antony with eight Wild Boars roasted whole at one Supper, and other meat suitable, if the earth had not been a bountiful mother? But to pass by the mighty Elephant,

which the earth breeds and nourisheth, and descend to the least of creatures, how doth the earth afford us a doctrinal example in the little Pismire, who in the Summer provides and layes up her Winterprovision, and teaches man to do the like? The earth feeds and carries those horses that earty us. If I would be prodigal of my time and your patience, what might not I say in commendations of the earth? That puts limits to the proud and raging Sea, and by that means preserves both man and beast, that it destroyes them not; as we see it daily doth those that venture upon the sea, and are there ship wreckt, drowned, and left to feed Haddocks; when we that are so wise as to keep ourselves on earth, walk, and talk, and like, and eat, and drink, and go a hunting: of which recreation I will say a little, and then leave Mt. Piscator to the commendation of Angling.

Hunting is a game for Princes and noble persons; it hath been highly prized in all Ages; it was one of the qualifications that Zenophon bestowed on his Cyrus; that he was a Hunter of wild beasts. Hunting trains up the younger Nobility to the use of manly exercises in their riper age. What more manly exercise than bunting the Wild Bore, the Stag, the Buck, the Fox, or the Hare? How doth it preserve health, and increase strength and activity?

And for the Dogs that we use, who can commend their excellency to that height which they deserve? How perfect is the Hound at smelling, who never leaves or forsakes his sent, but follows it thorow so many changes and varieties of other sents, even over and in the water, and into the earth? What musique doth a pack of Dogs then make to any man, whose heart and ears are so happy as to be set to the tune of such instruments? How will a right Greybound fix his eye on the best Buck in a heard, single him out and follow him, and him onely through a whole herd of Rascal game, and still know and kill him? For my Hounds I know the language of them, and they know the language and meaning of one another as perfectly as we know the voices of those with whom we discourse daily.

I might enlarge myself in the commendation of Hunting, and of the noble Hound especially, as also of the docibleness of dogs in general; and I might make many observations of Land-creatures.

that for composition, order, figure and constitution, approach nearest to the complearness and understanding of man; especially of those creatures which Moses in the Law permitted to the Jews, (which have cloven Hoofs, and chew the Cud) which I shall forbear to name, because I will not be so uncivil to Mr. Piscator, as not to allow him a time for the commendation of Angling, which he calls an Art, but doubtless 'tis an easie one: and Mr. Auceps, I doubt we shall hear a watry discourse of it; but I hope 'twill not be a long one.

A U C. And I hope so too, though I fear it will.

P 1 S C. Gentlemen, let not prejudice prepossesse you. I confesse my discourse is like to prove suitable to my Recreation, calm and quiet; we seldome take the name of God into our mouths, but it is either to praise him or pray to him; if others use it vainly in the midst of their recreations, so vainly as if they meant to conjure, I must tell you it is neither our fault not our custom; we, we protest against it. But, pray remember I accuse no body; for as I would not make a watry discourse, so I would not put too much vinegar into it, nor would I raise the reputation of my own Art by the diminution or ruine of anothers. And so much for the Prologue to what I mean to say.

And now for the Water, the Element that I trade in. The water is the eldest daughter of the Creation, the Element upon which the Spirit of God did first move, the Element which God commanded to bring forth living creatures abundantly; and without which those that inhabit the Land, even all creatures that have breath in their nostrils must suddenly return to putrefaction. Moses the great Lawgiver and chief Philosopher, skilled in all the learning of the Egyptians, who was called the friend of God, and knew the mind of the Almighty, names this element the first in the Creation; this is the element upon which the Spirit of God did first move, and is the chief Ingredient in the Creation: Many Philosophers have made it to comprehend all the other Elements, but most allow it the chiefest in the mixtion of all living creatures.

There be that profess to believe that all bodies are made of water,

and may be reduced back again to water onely: they endeavour to demonstrate it thus:

Take a Willow (or any like speedy growing plant) newly rooted in a box or barrel full of earth, weigh them all together exactly when the tree begins to grow, and then weigh all together after the tree is increased from its first rooting to weigh an hundred pound weight more then when it was first rooted and weighed; and you shall find this augment of the tree to be without the diminution of one dram of the earth. Hence they infer this increase of wood to be from water of rain, or from dew, and not to be from any other Element. And they affirm, they can reduce this wood back again to water; and they affirm also the same may be done in any animal or vegetable. And this I take to be a fair testimony of the excellency of my element of water. The Water is more productive than the Earth. Nay, the earth hath no fruitfulness without showers or dews; all the berbs, and flowers, and fruit are produced and thrive by the water; and the very Minerals are fed by streams that run under ground, whose natural course carries them to the tops of many high mountains, as we see by several springs breaking forth on the tops of the highest hills, and this is also witnessed by the daily tryal and testimony of several Miners.

Nay, the increase of those creatures that are bred and fed in the water, are not onely more and more miraculous, but more advantagious to man, not onely for the lengthning of his life, but for the preventing of sicknesse; for 'tis observed by the most learned Physicians, that the casting off of Lent and other Fish-dayes (which hath not onely given the Lie to so many learned, pious, wise Founders of Colledges, for which we should be ashamed) hath doubtless been the chief cause of those many putride, shaking, intermitting Agues, unto which this Nation of ours is now more subject than those wiser Countries that feed on Herbs, Sallets, and plenty of Fish; of which it is observed in Story, that the greatest part of the world now do. And it may be fit to remember that Moses (Lev. 11. 9. Deut. 14. 9.) appointed Fish to be the chief diet for the best Common-wealth that ever yet was.

And it is observable not onely that there are Fish, (as namely the Whale) three times as big as the mighty Elephant, that is so fierce in battel; but that the mightiest Feasts have been of Fish. The Romans in the height of their glory have made Fish the mistress of all their entertainments; they have had Musick to usher in their Sungeons, Lampreyes, and Mullet, which they would purchase at rates rather to be wondred at than believed. He that shall view the Writings of Macrobius or Varro, may be confirmed and informed of this, and of the incredible value of their Fish, and Fish-ponds.

But, Gentlemen, I have almost lost my self, which I confess I may easily do in this Philosophical Discourse; I met with most of it very lately (and I hope happily) in a conference with a most learned Physician, a dear Friend, that loves both me and my Art of Angling. But however I will wade no deeper in these mysterious Arguments, but pass to such Observations as I can manage with more pleasure, and less fear of running into error. But I must not yet forsake the Waters, by whose help we have so many known advantages.

And first (to passe by the miraculous cures of our known Baths) how advantagious is the Sea for our daily Traffique, without which we could not now subsist? How does it not onely furnish us with food and physick for the bodies, but with such observations for the mind as ingenious persons would not want?

How ignorant had we been of the beauty of Florence, of the Monuments, Urns, and Rarities that yet remain in, and near unto old
and new Rome, (so many as it is said will take up a years time to
view, and afford to each but a convenient consideration;) and
therefore it is not to be wondred at, that so learned and devout a
Father as St. Jerome, after his wish to have seen Christ in the flesh,
and to have heard St. Paul preach, makes his third wish to have
seen Rome in her glory; and that beauty is not yet all lost, for what
pleasure is it to see the Monuments of Livy, the choicest of the
Historians; of Tully, the best of Orators; and to see the Bay-trees
that now grow out of the very Tomb of Virgil? These to any that
love Learning. But what pleasure is it to a devout Christian to
see there the humble house in which Saint Paul was content to dwell:

and to view the many rich Statues that are there made in honour of his memory? nay, to see the very place in which Saint Peter and he lie buried together? These are in and near to Rome. And how much more doth it please the pious curiosity of a Christian to see that place, on which the blessed Saviour of the world was pleased to humble himself, and to take our nature upon him, and to converse with men; to see Mount Sion, Jerusalem, and the very Sepulchre of our Jesus? How may it beget and heighten the zeal of a Christian to see the Devotions that are daily paid to him at that place? Gentlemen, lest I forget my self I will stop here, and remember you, that but for my Element of water the Inhabitants of this poor Island must remain ignorant that such things have yet a being.

Gentlemen, I might both enlarge and lose myself in such like Arguments; I might tell you that Almighty God is said to have spoken to a Fish, but never to a Beart; that he hath made a Whole a Ship to carry and set his prophet Joseb safe on the appointed shore. Of these I might speake, but I must in manners break off, for I see Theobalds house. I cry you mercy for being so long, and thank you for your patience.

A U.C. Sir, my pardon is easily granted you: I except against nothing that you have said, neverthelesse I must part with you at this Park-wall, for which I am very sorry; but I assure you Mr. Pissator, I now part with you full of good thoughts, not onely of your self, but your Recreation. And so Gentlemen, God keep you both.

PISC. Well, now Mr. Venator you shall neither want time nor my attention to hear you enlarge your Discourse concerning Hunting. VENA. Not I Sir, I remember you said that Angling it self was of great Antiquity, and a perfect Art, and an Art not easily attained to; and you have so won upon me in your former discourse, that I am very desirous to hear what you can say further concerning those particulars.

PISC. Sir, I did say so, and I doubt not but if you and I did converse together but a few hours, to leave you possest with the same high and happy thoughts that now possess me of it; not onely of

the Antiquity of Angling, but that it deserves commendations, and that it is an Art, and an Art worthy the knowledge and practise of a wise man.

VENA. Pray Sir speak of them what you think fit; for we have yet five miles to the Thatcht-House, during which walk I dare promise you my patience and diligent attention shall not be wanting. And if you shall make that to appear which you have undertaken, first, that it is an Art, and an Art worth the learning, I shall beg that I may attend you a day or two a fishing, and that I may become your Scholar, and be instructed in the Art it self which you so much magnifie.

PISC. O Sir, doubt not but that Angling is an Art, and an Art worth your learning: the Question is rather whether you be capable of learning it? for Angling is somewhat like Poetry, men are to be born so: I mean, with inclinations to it, though both may be heightned by practice and experience: but he that hopes to be a good Angler must not onely bring an inquiring, searching, observing wit, but he must bring a large measure of hope and patience, and a love and propensity to the Art it self; but having once got and practis'd it, then doubt not but Angling will prove to be so pleasant, that it will prove like Vertue, a reward to it self:

VENA. Sir, I am now become so full of expectation that I long much to have you proceed, and in the order that you propose.

P 1 S C. Then first, for the antiquity of Angling, of which I shall not say much, but onely this; Some say it is as ancient as Deucalions Flood: others, that Belus, who was the first Inventor of Godly and vertuous Recreations, was the first Inventor of Angling: and some others say (for former times have had their disquisitions about the Antiquity of it) that Seth, one of the Sons of Adam, taught it to his Sons, and that by them it was derived to posterily: others say, that he left it ingraven on those pillars which he erected, and trusted to preserve the knowledge of the Mathematicks, Musick, and the rest of that precious knowledge, and those useful Arts which by Gods appointment or allowance and his noble industry were thereby preserved from perishing in Noahs flood.

These, Sir, have been the opinions of several men, that have possibly endeavoured to make Angling more ancient than is needful, or may well be warranted; but for my part, I shall content my self in telling you that Angling is much more ancient than the Incarnation of our Saviour; for in the Prophet Amos mention is made of fish-books; and in the Book of Job (which was long before the days of Amos, for that book is said to be writ by Moses) mention is made also of Fish-books, which must imply Anglers in those times.

But my worthy friend, as I would rather prove my self a Gentleman by being learned, and humble, voilint, and inoffensive, vertuous, and communicable, than by any fond ostentation of riches, or wanting these vertues my self, boast that these were in my Ancestors (and yet I grant that where a noble and ancient descent and such merits meet in any man, it is a double dignification of that person;) So if this Antiquity of Angling, (which for my part I have not forced,) shall like an ancient family, be either an honour or an ornament to this vertuous Art which I profess to love and practice, I shall be the gladder that I made an accidental mention of the antiquity of it; of which I shall say no more but proceed to that just commendation which I think it deserves.

And for that I shall tell you, that in ancient times a debate hath risen, (and it remains yet unresolved) Whether the happiness of man in this world doth consist more in Contemplation or action.

Concerning which some have endeavoured to maintain their opinion of the first, by saying, That the nearer we Mortals come to God by way of imitation, the more bappy we are. And they say, That God enjoys binstelf onely by a contemplation of his own infinitenesse, Eternity, Power and Goodness, and the like. And upon this ground many Cloysteral men of great learning and devotion prefer Contemplation before Action. And many of the Fathers seem to approve this opinion, as may appear in their Commentaries upon the words of our Saviour to Martha, Luke 10, 41, 42.

And on the contrary, there want not men of equal authority and credit, that prefer action to be the more excellent, as namely, experiments in Physick, and the application of it, both for the ease and prolongation

of mans life; by which each man is enabled to act and do good to others; either to serve his Countrey, or do good to particular persons; and they say also, That action is Dottinal, and traches both art and vertue, and is a maintainer of bumane society; and for these and other like reasons to be preferred before contemplation.

Concerning which two opinions I shall forbear to add a third, by declaring my own, and rest my self contented in telling you, (my very worthy friend), that both these meet together, and do most properly belong to the most bonest, ingenuous, quiet, and barmlesse art of Angling.

And first, I shall tell you what some have observed, (and I have found it to be a real truth) that the very sitting by the Rivers side is not onely the quietest and fittest place for contemplation, but will invite an Angler to it: and this seems to be maintained by the learned Pet. du Moline, who (in his Discourse of the Fulfilling of Prophecies) observes, that when God intended to reveal any future events or high notions to his Prophets, he then carried them either to the Deserts or the Sociotes, that having so separated them from amidst the press of people, and businesse, and the cares of the world, he might settle their minds in a quiet repose, and there make them fit for Revelation.

And this seems also to be intimated by the Children of Israel (Psal. 137.) who having in a sad condition banished all mirth and musique from their pensive hearts, and having hung up their then mute Harps upon the Willowstees growing by the Rivers of Babylon, sate down upon those banks bemoaning the ruines of Sion, and contemplating their own sad condition.

And an ingenuous Spaniard sayes, That Rivers and the Inhabitants of the watry Element were made for wise men to contemplate, and fools to passe by without consideration. And though I will not rank myself in the number of the first, yet give me leave to free my self from the last, by offering to you a short contemplation, first of Rivers, and then of Fish; concerning which I doubt not but to give you many observations that will appear very considerable: I am sure they have appeared so to me, and made many an hour passe away more

pleasantly, as I have sate quietly on a flowery Bank by a calm River, and contemplated what I shall now relate to you.

And first concerning Rivers, there be divers wonders reported of them by Authors of such credit, that we need not deny them an Historical Faith.

As namely of a River in Epirus, that puts out any lighted Torch, and kindles any Torch that was not lighted. Some Waters being drunk cause madnesse, some drunkennesse, and some laughter to death. The River Selarus in a few hours turns a rod or wand to be stone: and our Cambden mentions the like in England, and the like in Lochmere in Ireland. There is also a River in Arabia, of which all the sheep that drink thereof have their wool turned into a Vermillion colour. And one of no lesse credit than Aristotle tells us of a merry river, (the river Elusina) that dances at the noise of musique, for with musique it bubbles, dances and grows sandy, and so continues till the musique ceases, but then it presently returns to its wonted calmness and clearness. And Cambden tells us of a Well near to Kerby in Westmoreland, that ebbs and flows several times every day; and he tells us of a river in Surry, (it is called Mole) that after it has run several miles, being opposed by hills, finds or makes itself a way under ground, and breaks out again so far off, that the Inhabitants thereabout boast, (as the Spaniards do of their River Anus) that they feed divers flocks of sheep upon a Bridge. And, lastly, for I would not tire your patience, one of no lesse authority than Iosephus that learned Jew, tells us of a River in Judea, that runs swiftly all the six days of the week, and stands still and rests all their Sabbath.

But, Sir, lest this Discourse may seem tedious, I shall give it a sweet conclusion out of that holy Poet Mr. George Herbert his Divine Contemplation on Gods Providence:

Lord, who hath praise enough, nay, who hath any? None can express thy works, but he that knows them, And none can know thy works, they are so many, And so compleat, but onely he that ows them.

We all acknowledge both thy power and love
To be exact, transcendent and divine;
Who dost so strangely and so sweetly move,
Whilst all things have their end, yet none but thine,

Wherefore, most sacred Spirit, I here present For me, and all my fellows praise to thee; And just it is that I should pay the rent, Because the henefit accrues to me.

And as concerning fish, in that Psalm, (Psal. 104) wherein for height of Poetry and Wonders the Prophet David seems even to exceed himself, how doth he there express himself in choice Metaphors, even to the amazement of a contemplative Reader, concerning the Sea, the Rivers, and the Fish therein contained? And the great Naturalist Pliny sayes, That Natures great and wonderful power is more demonstrated in the Sea than on the Land. And this may appear by the numerous and various creatures, inhabiting both in and about that Element; as to the Readers of Gesner, Randeletius, Pliny, Ausonius, Aristotle, and others, may be demonstrated. But I will sweeten this Discourse also out of a Contemplation in Divine Dubartas, who sayes,

God quickned in the sea and in the rivers,
So many fishes of so many features,
That in the waters we may see all creatures,
Even all that on the earth is to be found,
As if the world were in deep waters droun'd.
For seas (as well as skies) bave Sun, Moon, Stars;
(As well as air) Swallows, Rooks, and Stares;
(As well as carth) Viner, Roses, Nettles, Melons,
Musbrooms, Pinks, Gilliflowers, and many millions
Of other plant, more rare, more strange than these,
As very fishes living in the seas:

¹ Dubartas in the fifth day.

As also Rams, Calves, Horses, Hares, and Hogs, Wolves, Urchins, Lions, Elephants, and Dogs; Yea, Men and Maids, and which I most admire, The mitted Bishop, and the cowled Fryer. Of which, examples but a few years since, Were shown the Norway and Polonian prince.

These seem to be wonders, but have had so many confirmations from men of learning and credit, that you need not doubt them; nor are the number, nor the various shapes of fishes, more strange or more fit for contemplation, than their different natures, inclinations and actions; concerning which I shall beg your patient ear a little longer.

The Cuttle-fish will cast a long gut out of her throat, which (like as an Angler doth his line) she sendeth forth and pulleth in again at her pleasure, according as she sees some little fish come near to her, and the Cuttle-fish 1 (being then hid in the gravel) lets the smaller fish nibble and bite the end of it, at which time she by little and little draws the smaller fish so near to her, that she may leap upon her, and then catches and devours her: and for this reason some have called this fish the Sea-ongler.

And there is a fish called a Hermit, that at a certain age gets into a dead fishes shell, and like a Hermite dwells there alone, studying the wind and weather, and so turns her shell that she makes it defend her from the injuries that they would bring upon her.

There is also a fish called by Elian (in his 9. book of Living Creatures, Chap. 16.) the Adonis, or Darling of the Sea; so called, because it is a loving and innocent fish, a fish that hurts nothing that hath life, and is at peace with all the numerous Inhabitants of that vast watery Element: and truly I think most Anglers are so disposed to most of mankind.

And there are also lustful and chast Fishes, of which I shall give you examples.

And first, what Dubartas says of a fish called the Sargus; which (because none can expresse it better than he does) I shall give you in

¹ Mount. Essayes: and others affirm this.

his own words, supposing it shall not have the less credit for being Verse, for he hath gathered this, and other observations out of Authors that have been great and industrious searchers into the secrets of Nature.

> The Adult rous Sargus doth not only change Wifes every day in the deep streams, but (strange) As if the honey of Scalove delight Could not suffice his ranging appetite, Goes courting she Coats on the grassie shore, Horning their husbands that had horns before.

And the same Author writes concerning the Cantharus, that which you shall also hear in his own words.

But contrary, the constant Cantharus, Is ever constant to his faithful Spouse, In nuptial duties spending his chaste life, Never loves any but his own dear wife.

Sir, but a little longer, and I have done.

VENA. Sir, take what libertie you think fit, for your discourse seems to be Musique, and charms me into an attention.

PISC. Why then Sir, I will take a little liberty to tell, or rather to remember you what is said of Turtle-Doves: First, that they silently plight their troth and marry; and that then, the Survivor scornes (as the Thracian women are said to do) to out-live his or her mate; and this is taken for such a truth, and if the Survivor shall ever couple with another, then not only the living, but the dead, (be it either the He or the she) is denyed the name and honour of a true l'urtle-dove.

And to parallel this Land Rarity, and teach mankind moral faithfulness, and to condemn those that talk of Religion, and yet come short of the moral faith of fish and fowl; Men that violate the Law affirmed by Saint Paul (Rom. 2. 14, 15.) to be writ in their hearts, (and which he sayes, shall at the last day condemn and leave them without excuse,) I pray hearken to what Dubattas 1 sings, (for

¹ Dubartas fifth day.

the hearing of such conjugal faithfulness, will be Musick to all chaste ears) and therefore I pray hearken to what Dubartas sings of the Mullet.

But for chaste love the Mullet hath no peer; For, if the Fisher hath surpriz'd her pheer, As mad with wo, to shore she followeth, Prest to consort him both in life and death.

On the contrary, what shall I say of the House-Cock, which treads any Hen, and then (contrary to the Swan, the Partridge and Pigeon) takes no care to hatch, to feed or to cherish his own brood, but is senseless though they perish.

And 'tis considerable, that the Hen (which because she also takes any Coek, expects it not) who is sure the Chickens be her own, hath by a moral impression her care and affection to her own Brood more than doubled, even to such a height, that our Saviour in expressing his love to Jenusalem (Mat. 23, 37.) quotes her for an example of tender affection, as his Father had done Job for a patern of patience.

And to parallel this Cock, there be divers fishes that cast their Spawn on flags or stones, and then leave it uncovered, and exposed to become a prey, and be devoured by Vermine or other fishes: but other fishes (as namely the Barbel) take such care for the preservation of their seed, that (unlike to the Cock or the Cuckoe') they mutually labour (both the Spawner and the Melter) to cover their Spawn with sand, or watch it, or hide it in some secret place unfrequented by Vermine or by any Fish but themselves.

Sir, these Examples may, to you and others, seem strange; but they are testified some by Aristotle, some by Pliny, some by Gesner, and by many others of credit, and are believed and known by divers, both of wisdom and experience, to be a Truth; and indeed are (as I said at the beginning) fit for the contemplation of a most serious and a most pious man. And doubtless this made the Prophet David say, They that occupy themselves in deep waters see the wonderful works of God: indeed such wonders and pleasures too as the land affords not.

And that they be fit for the contemplation of the most prudent, and pious, and peaceable men, seems to be testifyed by the practice of so many devout and contemplative men, as the Patriarehs and Prophets of old, and of the Apostles of our Saviour in these later times; of which twelve he chose four that were Fishermen, whom he inspired and sent to publish his blessed Will to the Gentiles, freedom from the incumbrances of the Law, and a new way to everlasting life; this was the imployment of these Fishermen. Concerning which choice, some have made these Observations.

First, that he never reproved these for their Imployment or Calling, as he did the Scribes and the Money-changers. And secondly, he found that the hearts of such men by nature were fitted for contemplation and quietnesse; men of mild, and sweet, and peaceable spirits, as indeed most Anglers are: these men our blessed Saviour, (who is observed to love to plant grace in good natures) though nothing be too hard for him, yet these men he chose to call from their irreprovable imployment of Fishing, and gave them grace to be his Disciples, and to follow him. I say four of twelve.

And it is observable, that it was our Saviours will, that these our four Fishermen should have a priority of nomination in the catalogue of his twelve Apostles, (Mat. 10.) as namely first St. Peter, St. Andrew, St. James and St. John, and then the rest in their order.

And it is yet more observable, that when our blessed Saviour went up into the Mount, when he left the rest of his Disciples, and chose onely three to beat him company at his Transfiguration, that those three were all Fishermen. And it is to be believed, that all the other Apostles, after they betook themselves to follow Christ, betook themselves to be Fishermen too; for it is certain that the greater number of them were found together a Fishing by Jesus after his Resurrection, as is recorded in the 21. Chapter of St. Johns Gospel.

And since I have your promise to hear me with patience, I will take a liberty to look back upon an observation that hath been made by an ingenuous and learned man, who observes that God hath been pleased to allow those, whom he himself hath appointed to writ his holy Will in holy Writ, yet to express his Will in such

Metaphors as their former affections or practice had inclined them to; and he brings Solomon for an example, who before his conversion was remarkably carnally-amorous; and after by Gods appointment writ that spiritual, holy, amorous Love-song (the Canticles) betwixt God and his Church, (in which he sayes she had Eyes like the fish-pools of Heshbon).

And if this hold in reason as I see none to the contrary, then it may be probably concluded, that Moses (whom, I told you before, writ the Book of Job) and the Prophet Amos, who was a Shepherd, were both Anglets, for you shall in all the Old Testament find Fish-hooks, I think but twice mentioned, namely, by meek Moses the friend of God, and by the humble Prophet Amos.

Concerning which last, namely the Prophet Amos, I shall make but this Observation, That he that shall read the bumble, lowly, plain style of that Prophet, and compare it with the bigboglorious, cloquent style of the Prophet Loaiab (though they be both equally true) may easily believe him to be, not only a Shepherd, but a goodnatur'd, plain Fisherman.

Which I do the rather believe, by comparing the affectionate, loving, lowly, humble Epistles of S. Peter, S. James and S. John, whom we know were all Fishers, with the glorious language and high Metaphors of S. Paul, who we may believe was not.

And for the lawfulness of Fishing: it may very well be maintained by our Saviours bidding St. Peter cast his hook into the water and catch a Fish, for money to pay Tribute to Caesar. And let me tell you, that angling is of high esteem, and of much use in other Nations. He that reads the Voyages of Ferdinand Mendez Pinto, shall find that there he declares to have found a King and several Priests a Fishing.

And he that reads Plutarch; shall find that Angling was not contemptible in the dayes of Mark Antony and Cleopatra, and that they in the midst of their wonderful glory used Angling as a principal recreation. And let me tell you, that in the Scripture Angling is alwayes taken in the best sense; and that though hunting may be sometimes so taken, yet it is but seldom to be so understood. And

let me adde this more, he that views the ancient Ecclesiastical Canons, shall find Hunting to be forbidden to Church-men, as being a toilsom, perplexing Recreation; and shall find angling allowed to Clergy-men, as being a harmlesse Recreation, a recreation that invites them to contemplation and quietness.

I might here enlarge myself, by telling you what commendations our learned Perkins bestowes on Angling: and how dear a lover, and great a practiser of it our learned Doctor Whitaker was, as indeed many others of great note have been. But I will content my self with two memorable men, that lived neer to our own time, whom I also take to have been ornaments to the Art of Angling.

The first is Doctor Nowel sometimes Dean of the Cathedral Church of Saint Paul in London, where his Monument stands yet undefaced; a man that in the Reformation of Queen Elizabeth (not that of Henry the VIII.) was so noted for his meek spirit, deep learning, prudence and piety, that the then Parliament and Convocation both, chose, injoyned and trusted him to be the man to make a Catechism for publick use, such a one as should stand as a rule for faith and manners to their posterity. And the good old man (though he was very learned, yet knowing that God leads us not to heaven by many nor by hard questions) like an honest Angler, made that good, plain, unperplext Catechism which is printed with our good old Service Book. I say, this good man was a dear lover, and constant practicer of Angling, as any Age can produce; and his custome was to spend besides his fixt hours of prayer, (those hours which by command of the Church were enjoyned the Clergy, and voluntarily dedicated to devotion by many Primitive Christians:) besides those hours, this good man was observed to spend a tenth part of his time in Angling; and also (for I have conversed with those which have conversed with him) to bestow a tenth part of his Revenue, and usually all his fish, amongst the poor that inhabited near to those Rivers in which it was caught: saying often, That charity gave life to Religion: and at his return to his house would praise God he had spent that day free from worldly trouble; both harmlesly, and in a recreation that became a Church man. And this good man was well content,

if not desirous, that posterity should know he was an Angler, as may appear by his Picture, now to be seen, and carefully kept in Brasenose Colledge, (to which he was a liberall benefactor) in which Picture he is drawn leaning on a Desk with his Bible before him, and on one hand of him his lines, books, and other tackling lying in a round; and on his other hand is his Angle-rods of several sorts; and by them this is written, That he died. 13 Feb. 1601. being aged. 95, years, 44. of which he had been Dean of St. Pauls Church; and that his age had neither impair'd his bearing, nor dimm'd his eyes, nor weakn'd his memory, nor made any of the faculties of his mind weak or uselesse. 'Tis said that angling and temperance were great causes of these blessings, and I wish the like to all that imitate him, and love the memory of so good a man.

My next and last example shall be that undervaluer of money, the late Provost of Eton Colledge, Sir Henry Wotton, (a man with whom I have often fish'd and convers'd) a man whose forreign Imployments, in the service of this Nation, and whose experience, learning, wit and chearfulness made his company to be esteemed one of the delights of mankind; this man, whose very approbation of angling were sufficient to convince any modest censurer of it, this man was also a most dear lover, and a frequent practiser of the art of angling: of which he would say, 'Twas an imployment for his idle time, which was then not idlely spent: for angling was after tedious Study, a rest to his mind, a cheerer of his spirits, a diverter of sadnesse, a calmer of unquiet thoughts, a moderator of passions, a procurer of contentednesse; and that it begot habits of peace and patience in those that profess'd and practis'd it. Indeed, my friend, you will find angling to be like the vertue of Humility, which has a calmness of spirit, and a world of other blessings attending upon it.

Sir, this was the saying of that learned man, and I do easily believe that peace, and patience, and a calme content did cohabit in the cheerful heart of Sir Henry Wotton, because I know that when he was beyond seventy years of age, he made this description of a part of the present pleasure that possess'd him, as he sate quietly in a Summers evening on a bank a Fishing; it is a description of the Spring, which, because

it glides as soft and sweetly from his pen, as that river does at this time by which it was then made, I shall repeat it unto you.

This day dame Nature seem'd in love: The lusty sap began to move: Fresh juice did stir th' imbracing Vines, And birds bad drawn their valentines. The jealous Trout, that low did lie, Rose at a well-dissembled flie: There stood my friend with patient skill, Attending of his trembling quill. Already were the eaves possest With the swift Pilgrims dawbed nest: The Groves already did rejoyce, In Philomels triumphing voice: The showres were short, the weather mild, The morning fresh, the evening smil'd. Jone takes ber neat-rub'd pail, and now She trips to milk the sand-red Cow; Where, for some sturdy foot-ball Swain, Jone strokes a sillibub or twain. The fields and gardens were beset With Tulips, Crocus, Violet, And now, though late, the modest Rose Did more than half a blush disclose. Thus all looks gay, and full of cheer, To welcome the new-livery'd year.

These were the thoughts that then possest the undisturbed mind of Sir Henry Wotton. Will you hear the wish of another Angler, and the commendation of his happy life which he also sings in Verse? viz. Jo. Davors Esq.

Let me live barmlesly, and near the brink
Of Trent or Avon bave a dwelling place;
Where I may see my quill or cork down sink
With eager bit of Pearch, or Bleak, or Dace;

And on the world and my Creator think,
Whilst some men strive, ill gotten goods t' imbrace;
And others spend their time in base excesse
Of wine or worse, in war and wantonness.

Let them that list, these pastimes still pursue, And on such pleasing funcies feed their fill, So I the fields and Meadowes green may view, And dally by fresh Rivers walk at will, Among the Daisies and the Violets blue. Red Hiacynth, and yellow Daffadil, Purple Narcissus like the morning rayes, Pale Gandergrasse, and acure Culverkayes.

I count it higher pleasure to behold

The stately compasse of the lofty skie,
And in the midst thereof (like burning gold)

The flaming Chariot of the worlds great eye,
The watry cloudes that in the air up rold,
With sundry kinds of painted colours file;
And fair Autrora lifting up her bead,
Still blushing, rise from old Tithonius bed.

The hills and mountains raised from the plains,
The plains extended level with the ground,
The grounds divided into sundry vains,
The veins inclos'd with rivers running round;
These rivers making way through natures chains
With beadlong course, into the sea profound;
The raging sea, hencath the vallies low,

Where lakes and rils and rivulets do flow,

The lofty woods, the forrests wide and long
Adorn'd with leaves and branches fresh and green,
In whose cool bowres the birds with many a song
Do welcome with their Quire the Summers Queen;

The Meadowes fair, where Flora's gifts among Are intermixt, with verdant grasse between. The silver-scaled fish that softly swim Within the sweet brooks crystal watry stream.

All these, and many more of his Creation,
That made the Heavens, the Anglex oft doth see,
Taking therein no little delectation,
To think bow strange, how wonderful they be;
Framing thereof an inward contemplation,
To set his beart from other funcies free;
And whilst he looks on these with joyful eye,
His mind is urapt above the starry Skie.

Sir I am glad my memory has not lost these last Verses, because they are somewhat more pleasant and more sutable to May Day, then my harsh Discourse: and I am glad your patience hath held out so long, as to hear them and me: for both together have brought us within the sight of the Thatcht house: and I must be your Debtor (if you think it worth your attention) for the rest of my promised discourse, till some other opportunity, and a like time of leisure.

VENA. Sir, you have Angled me on with much pleasure to the Tbatcht bouse: and I now find your words true Tbat good company makes the way seem short, for trust me, Sir, I thought we had wanted three miles of this House till you shewed it to me: but now we are at it, we'l turn into it, and refresh our selves with a cup of drink and a little rest.

PISC. Most gladly (Sir) and we'll drink a civil cup to all the Otter Hunters that are to meet you to morrow.

VENA. That we will Sir, and to all the lovers of Angling too, of which number, I am now willing to be one my self, for by the help of your good discourse and company. I have put on new thoughts both of the Art of Angling, and of all that professe it: and if you will but meet me to morrow at the time and place appointed, and bestow one day with me and my friends in hunting

the Otter, I will dedicate the next two dayes to wait upon you, and we two will for that time do nothing but angle, and talk of fish and fishing.

P 1 S C. Tis a match, Sir, I'l not fail you, God willing, to be at Amwel-bill to-morrow morning before Sun-rising.

CHAPTER II

Observations of the Otter and Chub.

VENA. My friend Piscator, you have kept time with my choughts, for the Sun is just rising, and I my self just now come to this place, and the dogs have just now put down an Otter; look down at the bottom of the hill there in that Meadow, chequered with water-Lillies and Lady-smocks, there you may see what work they make; look looke, you may see all busie, men and dogs, dogs and men, all busie.

P I S C. Sir, I am right glad to meet you, and glad to have so fair an entrance into this dayes sport, and glad to see so many dogs, and more men all in pursuit of the Otter; lets complement no longer, but joyn unto them; come honest Venator, lets be gone, lets make hast, I long to be doing: no reasonable hedge or ditch shall hold me.

VENA. Gentleman Hunts-man where found you this Otter?

HUNT. Marry (Sir) we found her a mile from this place a fishing; she has this morning eaten the greatest part of this Trout; she has only left thus much of it as you see, and was fishing for more: when we came we found him just at it but we were here very early, we were here an hour before Sunrise, and have given her no rest since we came, sure she'l hardly escape all these dogs and men. I am to have the skin if we kill him.

VENA. Why, Sir, what's the skin worth?

HUNT. 'Tis worth ten shillings to make gloves; the gloves of an Otter are the best fortification for your hands that can be thought on against wet weather.

PISC. I pray, honest Huntsman, let me ask you a pleasant question, do you hunt a beast or a fish?

HUNT. Sir, it is not in my power to resolve you. I leave it to be resolved by the Colledge of Carthusians, who have made vows never to eat flesh. But I have heard, the question hath been debated among many great Clerks, and they seem to differ about it; yet most agree that his tail is Fish: and if his body be Fish too, then I may say, that a Fish will walk upon land, (for an Otter does so) sometimes five or six. or ten miles in a night. But (Sir) I can tell you certainly, that he devours much Fish, and kills and spoils much more than he eats: And I can tell you, that this Dog-fisher (for so the Latins call him) can smell a Fish in the water an hundred yards from him (Gesner saves, much farther) and that his stones are good against the Falling sickness; and that there is an herb Benione, which being hung in a linnen cloth near a Fish-pond, or any haunt that he uses, makes him to avoid the place; which proves he smels both by water and land: and I can tell you there is brave hunting this Water-dog in Cornwall, where there have been so many, that our Cambden sayes, there is a River called Ottersey, which was so named, by reason of the abundance of Otters that bred and fed in it.

And thus much for my knowledge of the Otter, which you may now see above water at vent, and the dogs close with him; I now see he will not last long, follow therefore my Masters, follow, for Sweetlips was like to have him at this vent.

VENA. Oh me, all the Horse are got over the River, what shall we do now? shall we follow them over the water?

HUNT. No, Sir, no, be not so eager, stay a little and follow me, for both they and the dogs will be suddenly on this side again, I warrant you: and the Otter too, it may be: now have at him with Kilbuck, for he vents again.

VENA. Marry so he is, for look he vents in that corner. Now, now Ringwood has him: now he's gone again, and has bit the poor dog. Now Sweetlips has her: hold her Sweetlips! now all the dogs have her, some above and some under water; but now, now she's tir'd, and past losing: come bring him to me, Sweetlips. Look, 'dis

a Bitch/Otter, and she has lately whelp'd, let's go to the place where she was put down; and not far from it you will find all her young ones, I dare warrant you, and kill them all too.

HUNT. Come, Gentlemen, come all, let's go to the place where we put down the Otter. Look you, hereabout it was that she kennell'd; look you, here it was indeed, for here's her young ones, no less than five; come let's kill them all.

PISC. No, I pray Sir, save me one, and I'll try if I can make her tame, as I know an ingenuous Gentleman in Leiester shire (Mr. Nich. Segrave) has done; who hath not onely made her tame, but to catch Fish, and do many other things of much pleasure.

HUNT. Take one with all my heart, but let us kill the rest. And now let's go to an honest Ale-house, where we may have a cup of good Barley-wine, and sing Old Rose, and all of us rejoyce together.

VENA. Come my friend, Piscator, let me invite you along with us; I'll bear your charges this night, and you shall bear mine to morrow; for my intention is to accompany you a day or two in Fishing.

P 1 S C. Sir, your request is granted, and I shall be right glad, both to exchange such a courtesic, and also to enjoy your company.

V E N A. Well, now let's go to your sport of Angline.

PISC. Let's be going with all my heart. God keep you all, Gentlemen, and send you meet this day with another Bitch-Otter, and kill her merrily, and all her young ones too.

VENA. Now, Piscator, where will you begin to fish?

P I S C. We are not yet come to a likely place, I must walk a mile further yet, before I begin.

VENA. Well then, I pray, as we walk tell me freely, how do you like mine Hoste and the company? is not mine Hoste a witty man?

PISC. Sit, I will tell you presently what I think of your Hoste; but first I will tell you, I am glad these Otters were killed, and I am sorry there are no more Otter-killers; for I know that the want of Otter-killers, the not keeping the Fence-moneths for the preservation

of fish, will in time prove the destruction of all rivers; and those very few that are left that make conscience of the Laws of the Nation, and of keeping dayes of abstinence, will be forced to eat flesh, or suffer more inconveniencies than is yet foreseen.

VENA. Why Sir, what be those that you call the Fence-moneths? PISC. Sir, they be principally three, namely, March, April, and May, these being the usual moneths that Salmon come out of the Sea to spawn in most fresh Rivers, and their Fry would about a certain time return back to the salt water, if they were not hindred by weres and unlawful gins, which the greedy Fisher-men set, and so destroy them by thousands, as they would (being so taught by nature) change the fresh for salt water. He that shall view the wise Statutes made in the 13. of Edw. the I. and the like in Rich. the III. may see several provisions made against the destruction of Fish: and though I profess no Knowledge of the Law, yet I am sure the regulation of these defects might be easily mended. But I remember that a wise friend of mine did usually say, That which is everybodies business is no bodies business. If it were otherwise, there could not be so many Nets and Fish that are under the Statute size sold daily amongst us, and of which the conservators of the waters should be ashamed

But above all, the taking Fish in Spawning-time, may be said to be against nature; it is like taking the dam on the nest when she hatches her young: a sin so against nature, that Almighty God hath in holy Writ made a Law against it.

But the poor Fish have enemies enough besides such unnatural Fibbermen, as namely, the Otters that I spake of, the Cormorant, the Bitterne, the Osprey, the Sea-gull, the Henre, the King-fibber, the Gorrara, the Puet, the Swan, Goose, Duckr, and the Oraber, which some call the Water-ratt against all which any honest man may make a just quarrel, but I will not, I will leave them to be quarrelled with, and kil'd by others; for I am not of a cruel nature, I love to kill nothing but Fish.

And now to your question concerning your Hoste, to speak truly, he is not to me a good companion: for most of his conceits were

either Scripture jests, or lascivious jests; for which I count no man witty; for the Devil will help a man that way inclined to the first, and his own corrupt nature, (which he alwayes carries with him) to the latter. But a companion that feasts the company with wit and mirth, and leaves out the sin (which is usually mixt with them) he is the man; and indeed such a companion should have his charges borne: and to such company I hope to bring you this night: for at Trout-Hall, not far from this place, where I purpose to lodge to night, there is usually an angler that proves good company: and let me tell you, good company and good discourse are the very sinews of vertue: but for such discourse as we heard last night, it infects others, the very boyes will learn to talk and swear as they heard mine Host, and another of the company that shall be nameless; I am sorry he is a Gentleman, for lesse Religion will not save their souls than a beggars; I think more will be required at the last great dav. Well, you know what Example is able to do, and I know what the Poet sayes in the like case, which is worthy to be noted by all parents and people of civility:

——Many a one
Owes to his Country his Religion:
And in another would as strongly grow,
Had but his nurse or mother taught him so.

This is reason put into Verse, and worthy the consideration of a wise man. But of this no more, for though I love civility, yet I hate severe censures: I'll to my own art; and I doubt not but at yonder tree I shall catch a Chub, and then we'l turn to an honest cleanly Hostess, that I know right well; rest our selves there, and dress it for our dinner.

VENA. Oh Sir, a Chub is the worst Fish that swimmes, I hoped for a Trout to my dinner.

PISC. Trust me, Sir, there is not a likely place for a Trout, hereabout, and we staid so long to take our leave of your Huntsmen this morning, that the Sun is got so high, and shines so clear, that I will not undertake the catching of a Trout till evening; and though

a Chub be by you and many others reckoned the worst of fish, yet you shall see I'll make it a good Fish, by dressing it.

VENA. Why, how will you dresse him?

PISC. I'll tell you when I have caught him. Look you here, Sir, do you see? (but you must stand very close) there lye upon the top of the water in this very hole twenty Chubs, I'll catch onely one, and that shall be the biggest of them all: and that I will do so, I'll hold you twenty to one, and you shall see it done.

VENA. I marry Sir, now you talk like an Artist, and I'll say you are one, when I shall see you perform what you say you can do; but I yet doubt it.

PISC. You shall not doubt it long, for you shall see me do it presently: look, the biggest of these Chubs has had some bruise upon his tail, by a Pike or some other accident, and that looks like a white spot; that very Chub I mean to put into your hands presently; sit you but down in the shade, and stay but a little while, and I'le warrant you, I'le bring him to you.

VENA. I'le sit down and hope well, because you seem to be so confident

PISC. Look you Sir, there is a tryal of my skill, there he is, that very Chub that I shewed you with the white spot on his tail; and I'le be as certain to make him a good dish of meat, as I was to catch him. I'le now lead you to an honest Ale-house where we shall find a cleanly room, Lavender in the Windows, and twenty Ballads stuck about the wall; there my Hostis (which I may tell you, is both cleanly, and handsome, and civil) hath drest many a one for me, and shall now dresse it after my fashion, and I warrant it good meat

VENA. Come Sir, with all my heart, for I begin to be hungry, and long to be at it, and indeed to rest myself too; for though I have walk'd but four miles this morning, yet I begin to be weary; yesterdayes hunting hangs still upon me.

PISC. Well Sir, and you shall quickly be at rest, for yonder is the house I mean to bring you to.

Come Hostis, how do you? Will you first give us a cup of your

best drink, and then dress this Chub, as you drest my last, when I and my friend were here about eight or ten dayes ago? but you must do me one courtesie, it must be done instantly.

HOST. I will do it, Mr. Piscator, and with all the speed I can.

PISC. Now Sir, has not my Hostis made hast? and does not the fish look lovely?

VENA. Both, upon my word, Sir, and therefore let's say grace and fall to eating of it.

PISC. Well Sir, how do you like it?

VENA. Trust me, 'tis as good meat as I ever tasted: now let me thank you for it, drink to you, and beg a courtesie of you; but it must not be deny'd me.

PISC. What is it I pray Sir? you are so modest, that me thinks I may promise to grant it before it is ask'd.

VENA. Why Sir, it is that from henceforth you will allow me to call you Master, and that really I may be your Scholar, for you are such a companion, and have so quickly caught, and so excellently cook'd this fish, as makes me ambitious to be your Scholar.

PISC. Give me your hand; from this time forward I will be your Master, and teach you as much of this Art as I am able; and will, as you desire me, tell you somewhat of the nature of most of the Fish that we are to Angle for, and I am sure I both can and will tell you more than any common Angler yet knows.

CHAPTER III

How to fish for, and to dresse the Chavender or Chub.

P 1s C. The Chub, though he eat well thus drest, yet as he is usually drest, he does not: he is objected against, not onely for being full of small forked bones, disperts through all his body, but that he eats watrish, and that the flesh of him is not firm, but short and tastelesse. The French esteem him so mean, as to call him Un willains, nevertheless he may be so drest as to make him very good meat; as namely, if he be a large Chub, then dress him thus:

First scale him, and then wash him clean, and then take out his guts; and to that end make the hole as little and near to his gills as you may conveniently, and especially make clean his throat from the grass and weeds that are usually in it (for if that he not very clean, it will make him to taste very sour); having so done, put some sweet herbs into his belly, and then tye him with two or three splinters to a spit, and rost him, basted often with vinegar, or rather verjuice and butter, with good store of salt mixt with it.

Being thus drest, you will find him a much better dish of meat than you, or most folk, even than Anglers themselves do imagine; for this dries up the fluid watry humor with which all Chubs do abound.

But take this rule with you, That a Chub newly taken and newly drest, is so much better than a Chub of a days keeping after he is dead, that I can compare him to nothing so fitly as to Cherries newly gathered from a tree, and others that have been bruised and layen a day or two in water. Being thus used and drest presently, and not washt after he is gutted, (for note that lying long in water, and washing the blood out of the Fish after they be gutted, abates much of their sweetnesse) you will find the Chub to be such meat as will recompence your labour.

Or you may dress the Chavender or Chub thus:

When you have scaled him, and cut off his tail and fins, and warbed him very clean, then chine or slit him through the middle, as a salt fish is usually cut, then give him three or four cuts or scotches with your knife, and broil him on Char-coal, or Wood-coal that are free from moke, and all the tine he is a-broyling hatte him with the best sweet butter, and good store of salt mixt with it; and to this add a little Time cut exceeding small, or bruised into the butter. The Cheven thus drest hath the watry taste taken away, for which so many except against him. Thus was the Cheven drest that you liked so well, and commended so much. But note again, that if this Chub that you eat of had been kept till to morrow, he had not been worth a rush. And remember that his throat be very clean, I say very clean, and his body not washt after he is gutted. Well Scholar, you see what pains I have taken to recover the lost credit of the poor despised Chub. And now I will give you some rules how to catch him; and I am glad to enter you into the Art

of fishing by catching a Chub, for there is no Fish better to enter a young Angler, he is so easily caught, but then it must be this particular way.

Go to the same hole in which I caught my Chub, where, in most hot dayes you will find a dozen or twenty Chevens floating near the top of the water, get two or three Grashoppers as you go over the meadow, and get secretly behind the tree, and stand as free from motion as is possible, then put a Grashopper on your hook, and let your hook hang a quarter of a yard short of the water, to which end you must rest your rod on some bough of the tree, and it is likely the Chubs will sink down towards the bottom of the water at the shadow of your Rod, (for a Chub is the fearfullest of fishes.) and will do so if but a bird flies over him, and makes the least shadow on the water; but they will presently rise up to the top again, and there lie soaring till some shadow affrights them again; when they lie upon the top of the water, look out the best Chub, which you setting your self in a fit place, may very easily see, and move your Rod as softly as a Snail moves, to that Chub you intend to catch; let your bait fall gently upon the water three or four inches before him, and he will infallibly take the bait, and you will be as sure to catch him: for he is one of the leather-mouth'd Fishes, of which a hook does scarce ever lose his hold; and therefore give him play enough before you offer to take him out of the water. Go your way presently, take my Rod, and do as I bid you, and I will sit down and mend my tackling till you return back.

VENA. Truly, my loving Master, you have offered me as fair as I could wish. I'le go and observe your directions.

Look you, Master, what I have done, that which joies my heart, caught just such another Chub as yours was.

PISC. Marry, and I am glad of it: I am like to have a towardly Scholar of you. I now see, that with advice and practice you will make an Angler in a short time. Have but a love to it and I'le warrant you.

VENA. But Master, What if I could not have found a Gras-bopper?

PISC. Then I may tell you, that a black snail, with his belly slit. to show his white; or a piece of soft cheese, will usually do as well; nay, sometimes a worm, or any kind of fly, as the Antifly, the Fleshfly, or Wall-fly, or the Dor or Beetle (which you may find under a Cow-tird) or a Bob, which you will find in the same place, and in time will be a Beetle, it is a short white worm, like to, and bigger than a Gentle, or a Cod-worm, or a Case-worm, any of these will do very well to Fish in such a manner. And after this manner you may catch a Trout in a hot evening; when as you walk by a Brook, and shall see or hear him leap at flies, then if you get a Grashopper, put it on your hook, with your line about two yards long, standing behind a bush or tree where his hole is, and make your bait stir up and down on the top of the water; you may, if you stand close be sure of a bite, but not sure to catch him, for he is not a leathermouthed Fish: and after this manner you may fish for him with almost any kind of live flie, but especially with a Grashopper.

VENA. But before you go further, I pray good Master, what mean you by a leather mouthed Fish?

PISC. By a leather-mouthed Fish, I mean such as have their teeth in their throat, as the Chub or Cheven, and so the Barbel, the Gudgeon and Carp, and divers others have; and the hook being stuck into the leather or skin of such Fish does very seldom or never lose its hold: But on the contrary, a Pike, a Pearch, or Trout, and so some other Fish, which have not their teeth in their throats, but in their mouths, (which you shall observe to be very full of bones, and the skin very thin, and little of it;) I say, of these Fish the hook never takes so sure hold, but you often lose the Fish, unlesse he have gorg'd it.

VENA. I thank you good Master for this observation; but now what shall be done with my Chub or Cheven, that I have caught?

PISC. Marry Sir, it shall be given away to some poor body, for I'll warrant you I'll give you a Trout for your supper: and it is a good beginning of your Art to offer your first fruits to the poor, who will both thank God and you for it, which I see by your silence you seem to consent to. And for your willingness to part with it

so charitably, I will also teach you more concerning Chub-Fishing: you are to note, that in March and April he is usually taken with wormes; in May, and June, and July he will bite at any fly, or at cherries, or at Beetles with their legs and wings cut off, or at any kind of Snail, or at the black Bee that breeds in clay walls; and he never refuses a Grashopper on the top of a swift stream, nor at the bottom the young bumble-bee that breeds in long grasse, and are ordinarily found by the Mower of it. In August, and in the cooler moneths a vellow paste, made of the strongest cheese, and pounded in a Morter with a little butter and saffron (so much of it as being beaten small will turn it to a lemmon colour.) And some make a paste for the Winter moneths, at which time the Chub is accounted best. (for then it is observed, that the forked bones are lost or turned into a kind of gristle, (especially if he be baked) with a paste made of Cheese and Turpentine; he will bite also at a Minnow or Penk as a Trout will: of which I shall tell you more hereafter, and of divers other baits. But take this for a rule, that in hot weather he is to be fisht for towards the mid-water, or nearer the top; and in colder weather nearer the bottom. And if you fish for him on the top, with a Beetle or any fly, then be sure to let your line be very long, and to keep out of sight. And having told you that his Spawn is excellent, and that the head of a large Cheven, the Throat being well washt, is the best part of him, I will say no more of this Fish at the present. but wish you may catch the next you Fish for,

And now my next observation and direction shall be concerning the Trout (which I love to angle for above any Fish) but lest you may judge me too nice in urging to have the Chub drest so presently after he is taken, I will commend to your consideration how curious former times have been in the like kind.

You shall read in Seneca his natural Questions (Lib. 3, cap. 17.) that the Ancients were so curious in the newnesse of their Fish, that that seemed not new enough that was not put alive into the guests hand; and he sayes that to that end they did usually keep them living in glass-bottels in their Dining-rooms; and they did glory much in their entertaining of friends to have that Fish taken

from under their table alive, that was instantly to be fed upon. And he sayes, they took a great pleasure to see their Mullets change to severall colours, when they were dying. But enough of this, for I doubt I have stayed too long from giving you some observations of the Trout, and how to fish for him, which shall take up the next of my spare time.

CHAPTER IV

Observations of the nature and breeding of the Trout, and bow to fish for him. And the Milk-maids Song.

P 1 S C. The Trout is a Fish highly valued both in this and forraign Nations; he may be justly said, (as the old Poet said of Wine, and we English say of Venison) to be a generous Fish: a Fish that is so like the Buck, that he also has his seasons; for it is observed, that he comes in and goes out of season with the Stog and Buck: Genner sayes, his name is of a Germane off-spring, and sayes he is a Fish that feeds clean and purely, in the swiftest streams, and on the hardest gravel: and that he may justly contend with all fresh-water. Fish, as the Mullet may with all Sea-Fish, for precedency and daintinesse of taske, and that being in right season, the most dainty pallates have allowed precedency to him.

And before I go farther in my Discourse, let me tell you, that you are to observe, that as there be some barren Does, that are good in Summer, so there be some barren Trouts that are good in Winter, but there are not many that are so; for usually they be in their perfection in the month of May, and decline with the Buck. Now you are to take notice, that in several Countryes, as in Germany and in other parts, compar'd to ours, Fish do differ much in their bignesse, and shape, and other-wayes, and so do Trouts; it is well known that in the Lake Lemon, (the Lake of Geneva,) there are Trouts taken of three Cubits long, as is affirmed by Gener, a Writer of good credit; and Mercator sayes, the Trouts that are taken in the Lake of Geneva, are a great part of the Merchandize of that famous City. And you

are further to know, that there be certain waters that breed Trouts remarkable, both for their number and smalnesse. I know a little Brook in Kent, that breeds them to a number incredible, and you may take them twenty or forty in an hour, but none greater than about the size of a Gudgion: There are also in divers Rivers, especially that relate to or be near to the Sea, (as Winchester, or the Thomes about Windsor) a little Trout called a Samlet or Skegger Trout (in both which places I have caught twenty or forty at a standing) that will bite as fast and as freely as Minnour; these be by some taken to be young Salmons, but in those waters they never grow to be bigger than a Herring.

There is also in Kent near to Canterbury, a trout: (called there a Fordidge trout) a trout (that bears the name of the Town, where it is usually caught) that is accounted the rarest of Fish, many of them near the bignesse of a Salmon, but known by their different colour, and in their best season cut very white; and none of these have been known to be caught with an Angle, unless it were one that was caught by Sir George Hastings, (an excellent Angler, and now with God) and he hath told me, he thought that trout bit not for hunger but wantonness; and it is the rather to be believed, because both he then, and many others before him, have been curious to search into their bellies, what the food was by which they lived; and have found out nothing by which they might satisfie their curiosity.

Concerning which you are to take notice, that it is reported by good Authors, that there is a Fish, that hath not any mouth, but lives by taking breath by the porings of her Gills, and feeds and is nourished by no man knows what; and this may be believed of the Fordidge trout, which (as it is said of the Storke, that he knows his season, so he) knows his times, (I think almost his day) of coming first into that River out of the Sea, where he lives (and it is like, feeds) nine months of the Year, and about three in the River of Fordidge. And you are to note, that the Townsmen are very punctual in observing the very time of beginning to fish for them; and boast much that their River affords a Trout, that exceeds all others. And

just so doth Sussex boast of several Fish, as namely a Shelsey Cockle, a Chichester Lobster, an Arundel Mullet, and an Amerly Trout.

And now for some confirmation of the Fordidge Trout, you are to know that this Trout is thought to eat nothing in the fresh water; and it may be the better believed, because it is well known, that Swallows which are not seen to flie in England for six months in the Year, (but about Michaelmas leave us for a hotter Climate;) yet some of them that have been left behind their fellows, have been found (many thousands at a time) in hollow trees, where they have been observed, to live and sleep out the whole Winter without meat; and so Albertus observes that there is one kind of Frog that hath her mouth naturally shut up about the end of August and that she lives so all the Winter, and though it be strange to some, yet it is known to too many among us to be doubted.

And so much for these Fordidge trouts, which never afford an Angler sport, but either live their time of being in the fresh water by their meat formerly gotten in the Sea, (not unlike the Swallow or Frog) or by the vertue of the fresh water only; or as the birds of Paradise, and the Camelion are said to live by the Sun and the dire.

There is also in Northumberland a Trout called a Bull-trout, of a much greater length and bignesse, than any in these Southern parts: and there is in many Rivers that relate to the Sea, Salmon-trouts, as much different from others, both in shape and in their spots, as we see sheep differ one from another in their shape and bignesse, and in the finenesse of their wool; and certainly, as some pastures do breed larger sheep, so do some Rivers, by reason of the ground over which they run, breed larger trouts.

Now the next thing that I will commend to your consideration is, that the trout is of a more sudden growth than other Fish: concerning which you are also to take notice, that he lives not so long as the Pearch and divers other Fishes do, as Sir Francis Bacon hath observed in his History of Life and Death,

¹ View Sir Fra. Bacon, exper. 899.

² See Topsel of Frogs.

And next you are to take notice, that he is not like the Crocodile, which if he lives never so long, yet alwayes thrives till his death; but 'tis not so with the Trout; for after he is come to his full growth. he declines in his body, but keeps his bignesse, or thrives onely in his head till his death. And you are to know, that he will about (especially before) the time of his Spawning, get almost miraculously through Weires, and Floud-gates against the stream, even through such high and swift places as is almost incredible. Next, that the Trout usually Spawns about October or November, but in some Rivers a little sooner or later: which is the more observable, because most other fish Spawn in the Spring or Summer, when the Sun hath warmed both the earth and water, and made it fit for generation, And you are to note, that he continues many months out of season: for it may be observed of the Trout, that he is like the Buck or the Ox. that will not be fat in many months, though he go in the very same pastures that horses do, which will be fat in one month; and so you may observe, that most other Fishes recover strength, and grow sooner fat, and in season then the Trout doth.

And next, you are to note, that till the Sun gets to such a height as to warm the earth and the water, the Trout is sick and lean, and lowsie, and unwholesome: for you shall in winter find him to have a big head, and then to be lank, and thin, and lean; at which time many of them have sticking on them Sugs, or Trout lice, which is a kind of a worm, in shape like a clove or pin, with a big head, and stickes close to him and sucks his moisture; those, I think, the Trout breeds himself, and never thrives till he free himself from them. which is till warm weather comes; and then, as he grows stronger, he gets from the dead still water into the sharp streams, and the gravel, and there rubs off these worms or lice, and then, as he grows stronger, so he gets him into swifter and swifter streams, and there lies at the watch for any flie or Minnow, that comes near to him: and he especially loves the May-flie, which is bred of the Cod-worm or Caddis; and these make the trout bold and lusty, and he is usually fatter and better meat at the end of that moneth, then at any time of the year.

Now you are to know, that it is observed, that usually the best trouts are either red or yellow, though some (as the Fordidge trout) be white and yet good; but that is not usual: and it is a note observable, that the female Trout hath usually a less head, and a deeper body than the male Trout; and is usually the better meat: and note that a hogback, and a little head to any fish, either Trout, Salmon, or other fish, is a sign that that fish is in season.

But yet you are to note, that as you see some Willows or palm-trees bud and blossom sooner than others do, so some Trouts be in rivers sooner in season; and as some Hollys or Oaks are longer before they cast their leaves, so are some Trouts in some Rivers longer before they go out of season.

And you are to note, that there are severall kinds of Trouts, though they all go under that generall name; just as there be tame and wild Pigeons, and of tame there be Cropers, Carriers, Runts, (and too many to name) which all differ, and so do Trouts in their bignesse, shape, and colour; the great Kentish Hens may be an instance compared to other Hens. And doubtlesse there is a kind of small Trout, which will never thrive to be big, that breeds very many more than others do, that be of a larger size; which you may rather believe, if you consider that the little Wren and Titmouse will have twenty young at a time, when usually the noble Hawk, or the Musical Thrassel or Black-bird exceed not four or five.

And now I shall try my skill to catch a Trout, and at my next walking either this evening, or to morrow morning I will give you direction, how you your self shall fish for him.

VENA. Trust me, Master, I see now it is a harder matter to catch a Trout than a Chub: for I have put on patience, and followed you these two hours, and not seen a Fish stir, neither at your Minnow nor your Worm.

P 1 S C. Well Scholar, you must indure worse luck sometime, or you will never make a good Angler. But what say you now ₹ there is a Trout now, and a good one too, if I can but hold him, and two or three turnes more will tire him: Now you see he lies still, and the sleight is to land him: Reach me that Landing Net: So (Sir) now he

is mine own, what say you now? is not this worth all my labour and your patience?

VENA. On my word Master, this is a gallant Trout, what shall we do with him?

PISC. Marry e'en eat him to supper: We'll go to my Hostis, from whence we came; she told me, as I was going out of door, that my brother Peter, a good Angler and a chearful companion, had sent word he would lodge there to night, and bring a friend with him. My Hostis has two beds, and, I know, you and I may have the best: we'l rejoice with my brother Peter and his friend, tell tales, or sing Ballads, or make a Catch or find some harmlesse sport to content us, and passe away a little time without offence to God or man. VENA. A match, good Master, let's go to that house for the linnen looks white, and smells of Lavender, and I long to lie in a pair of sheets that smell so: lets be going, good Master, for I am hungry again with fishing.

PISC. Nay, stay a little good Scholar, I caught my last Trout with a Worm, now I will put on a Minnow and trie a quarter of an hour about yonder trees for another, and so walk towards our Lodging. Look you Scholar, thereabout we shall have a bit presently, or not at all: Have with you (Sir!) on my word I have him. Oh it is a great loggerheaded Cbub; Come, hang him upon that Willow twig, and lets be going. But turn out of the way a little, good Scholar, towards yonder high hedge: We'll sit whilst this shower falls so gently upon the teeming earth, and gives yet a sweeter smell to the lovely flowers that adorn these verdant Meadowes.

Look; under that broad Beech-tree, I sate down, when I was last this way a fishing, and the birds in the adjoyning Grove seemed to have a friendly contention with an Eccho, whose dead voice seemed to live in a hallow tree, near to the brow of that Primrose-hil, there I sate viewing the silver-streams glide silently towards their center, the tempestuous Sea; yet sometimes opposed by rugged roots, and pibble stones, which broke their waves, and turned them into foam: and sometimes I beguil'd time by viewing the harmlesse Lambs, some leaping securely in the cool shade, whilst others sported them.

selvs in the chearful Sun; and saw others craving comfort from the swoln Udders of their bleating Dams. As I thus sate these and other sights had so fully possest my soul with content, that I thought as the Poet has happily exprest it:

> I was for that time lifted above earth; And possest joyes not promis'd in my birth.

As I left this place, and entred into the next field, a second pleasure entertained me, 'twas a handsome milk-maid, that had cast away all care, and sung like a Nightingale: her voice was good, and the Ditty fitted for it, 'twas that smooth song, which was made by Kit. Marlow, now at least fifty years ago: and the Milk-maids Mother sung an answer to it, which was made by Sir Walter Raleigh in his younger dayes.

They were old fashioned Poetry, but choicely good, I think much better than the strong lines that are now in fashion in this criticall age. Look yonder, on my word, yonder they both be a milking again, I will give her the Chub, and perswade them to sing those two songs to us.

God speed you good woman, I have been a Fishing, and am going to Bleak-Hall to my bed, and having caught more Fish then will soup my self and my friend, I will bestow this upon you and your Daughter; for I use to sell none.

MILK. Marrie, God requite you Sir, and we'l eat it chearfully: and if you come this way a Fishing two months hence, a grace of God I'le give you a Sillybub of new Verjuice; in a new made Hay-cock for it, and my Maudlin shall sing you one of her best Ballada, for she and I both love all Anglers, they be such honest, civil, quiet men; in the mean-time will you drink a draught of Red-Cower milk, you shall have it freely.

PISC. No, I thank you, but I pray do us a courtesie that shall stand you and your daughter in nothing, and yet we will think our selves still something in your debt; it is but to sing us a Song, that was sung by your daughter, when I last past over this Meadow, about eight or nine dayes since.

MILK. What Song was it, I pray? was it, Come Shepheards deck your heards, or, As at noon Dulcina rested; or, Philida flouts me; or, Chevy Chase?

PISC. No, it is none of those: it is a Song, that your daughter sung the first part, and you sung the answer to it.

MILK. O, I know it now, I learn'd the first part in my golden age, when I was about the age of my poor daughter; and the latter part, which indeed fits me best now, but two or three years ago, when the cares of the World began to take hold of me: but you shall, God willing, hear them both, and sung as well as we can, for we both love Anglers. Come Maudlin, sing the first part to the Gentlemen with a merry heart, and Ile sing the second, when you have done.

The Milk-Maids Song,

Come live with me, and he my Love, And we will all the pleasures prove That valleys, groves, or hills, or fields, Or woods, and steepy mountain yeilds.

Where we will sit upon the Rocks, And see the Shepheards feed our flocks, By shallow Rivers, to whose falls, Melodious birds sing Madrigals.

And I will make thee beds of Roses, And then a thousand fragrant Poesies, A Cap of flower, and a Kirtle Imbroidered all with leaves of mirtle.

A Gown made of the finest wool
Which from our pretty Lambs we pull;
Slippers lin'd choicely for the cold,
With buckles of the purest gold.

A Belt of Straw, and Ivy-buds, With Coral Clasps and Amber studs: THE COMPLEAT ANGLER
And if these pleasures may thee move,
Come live with me and be my Love.

Thy silver dishes for thy meat, As pretious as the gods do eat, Shall on an Ivory table be Prepar'd each day for thee and me.

The Shepherds Swains shall dance and sing For thy delight each May-morning: If these delights thy mind may move, Then live with me, and he my Love.

VENA. Trust me, Master, it is a choice Song, and sweetly sung by honest Maudlin. I now see it was not without cause, that our good Queen Elizabeth did so often wish her self a Milkmaid all the moneth of May, because they are not troubled with cares, but sing sweetly all the day, and sleep securely all the night: and without doubt honest, innocent, pretty Maudlin does so. I'le bestow Sir Thomas Overbury's Milk-maids wish upon her, That she may dye in the Spring, and have good store of flowers stuck round about her winding sheet.

The Milk-Maids Mothers Answer.

If all the world and Love were young, And truth in every Shepherds tongue, These pretty pleasures might me move To live with thee, and he thy Love.

But time drives flocks from field to fold When rivers rage, and rocks grow cold, Then Philomel becometh dumb, The Rest complains of cares to come.

The flowers do fade, and wanton fields To wayward Winter reckoning yeilds. A honey tongue, a heart of gall, Is fancies spring, but sorrows fall, THE COMPLEAT ANGLER
Thy gowns, thy shooes, thy beds of roses,
Thy cap, thy kirtle, and thy possies,
Soon break, soon wither, soon forgotten,
In folly ripe, in reason rotten.

Thy Belt of Straw, and Ivy-buds, Thy Coral Clasps, and Amber-studs, All these in me no means can move To come to thee, and be thy Love.

What should we talk of dainties then, Of better meat than's fit for men? These are but vain: that's onely good Which God hath blest, and sent for food.

But could Youth last, and love still breed, Had joyes no date, nor age no need; Then those delights my mind might move, To live with thee, and be thy Love.

PISC. Well sung, good Woman, I thank you. I'le give you another dish of Fish one of these dayes, and then beg another Song of you. Come Scholar, let Maudlin alone, do not you offer to spoil her voice. Look, yonder comes mine Hostesse to call us to supper. How now? is my brother Peter come?

HOST. Yes, and a friend with him, they are both glad to hear that you are in these parts, and long to see you, and are hungry, and long to be at supper.

CHAPTER V

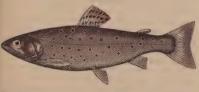
More directions how to fish for, and how to make for the Trout an artificial Minnow and Fly, and some merriment.

P 1 S C. Well met Brother Peter, I heard you and a friend would lodge here to night, and that hath made me and my friend cast to lodge here too: My friend is one, that would fain be a brother of

the Angle, he hath been an Angler but this day, and I have taught him how to catch a Child by dapping with a Grashopper, and he hath caught a lusty one of nineteen inches long. But, I pray Brother, who is it, that is your companion?

PET. Brother Piscator, my friend is an honest Country-man, and his name is Coridon, a most downright, wittie, and merry companion that met me here purposely to eat a trout, and to be pleasant, and I have not yet wet my Line since I came from home: but I will fit him to morrow with a trout for his breakfast, if the weather be anything like.

PISC. Nay, brother, you shall not delay him so long, for look you, here is a Trout will fill six reasonable bellies. Come Hostess,



dress it presently, and get us what other meat the house will afford, and give us some of your best Barley-wine, the good liquor that our honest Forefathers did use to drink of, which preserved their health, and made them live so long, and to do so many good deeds.

PET. On my word this Trout is in perfect season. Come, I thank you, and here is a hearty draught to you, and to all the brothers of the Angle wheresoever they be, and to my young brothers good fortune to morrow: I will furnish him with a Rod, if you will furnish him with the rest of the Tackling, we will set him up and make him a Fisher.

And I will tell him one thing for his incouragement, that his Fortune hath made him happy to be Scholar to such a Master; a Master that knows as much both of the nature and breeding of fish

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as any man; and can also tell him as well how to catch and cook them, from the Minnow to the Salmon, as any that I ever met withall.

- PISC. Trust me, brother Peter, I find my Scholar to be so sutable to my own humour, which is to be free and pleasant, and civilly merry, that my resolution is to hide nothing that I know from him. Believe me, Scholar, this is my resolution; and so here's to you a hearty draught, and to all that love us, and the honest Art of Angling.
- VENA. Trust me, good Master, you shall not sow your seed in barren ground, for I hope to return you an increase answerable to your hopes; but however you shall find me obedient, and thankful, and serviceable to my best abilitie.
- PISC. 'Tis enough, honest Scholar, come lets to supper. Come my friend Coridon this Trout looks lovely, it was twentie two inches when it was taken, and the belly of it looked some part of it as yellow as a Marigold, and part of it as white as a lilly: and yet me thinks it looks better in this good sawce.
- C O R. Indeed honest friend, it looks well, and tastes well, I thank you for it, and so does my friend Peter, or else he is to blame.
- PET. Yes, and so I do, we all thank you, and when we have supt, I will get my friend Coridon to sing you a Song for requital.
- COR. I will sing a song, if any body will sing another; else, to be plain with you, I will sing none: I am none of those that sing for meat, but for company: I say, 'Tis merry in Hall, When men sing all.
- PISC. PI promise you I'l sing a song, that was lately made at my request, by Mr. William Basse, one that hath made the choice songs of the Hunter in his careere, and of Tom of Bedlam, and many others of note; and this that I will sing is in praise of Angling.
- C O R. And then mine shall be the praise of a Country mans life: What will the rest sing of?
- PET. I will promise you, I will sing another song in praise of Angling to morrow night, for we will not part till then, but Fish to morrow, and sup together, and the next day every man leave Fishing, and fall to his businesse.

VENA. 'Tis a match, and I will provide you a Song or a Catch against then too, which shall give some addition of mirth to the company; for we will be civil and metry too.

PISC. 'Tis a match my Masters, lets ev'n say Grace, and turn to the fire, drink the other cup to wet our whistles, and so sing away all sad thoughts.

Come on my Masters, who begins? I think it is best to draw cuts, and avoid contention.

PET. It is a match. Look, the shortest cut fals to Coridon. COR. Well then, I will begin, for I hate contention.

CORIDONS Song.

Ob the sweet contentment
The country-man doth findl
bigh trolollie lollie loe
bigh trolollie lee.
That quiet contemplation
passesseth all my mind:
Then care away,
And wend along with me,

For Courts are full of flattery, As bath too oft been tri'd; bigh trolollie lollie loe, &c. The City full of wantonnesse, and both are full of pride: Then care away, &c.

But ob the bonest Country-man Speaks truely from bis beart, bigh trolollie lollie loe, &cc. His pride is in bis tillage, his borses, and bis cart: Then care away, &cc.

Our cloathing is good sheep skins, Gray russet for our wives, bigh trolollie lollie loe, &c.. "Tis warmth and not gay cloathing that doth prolong our lives: Then care away, &c.

The ploughman, though be labor hard, Yet on the Holy-Day, high trololite lollie loe, &c. No Emperour so merrily does passe his time away: Then care away, &c.

To recompence our tillage,
The Heavens afford us showrs;
high trolollie lollie loe, &c.
And for our sweet refreshments
the earth affords us bowers:
Then care away, &c.

The Cuckoc and the Nightingale Full merily do sing, bigh trolollic lollic loe, &c., And with their pleasant roundelaies bid welcome to the Spring: Then care away, &c.

This is not half the happiness
the country man injoyes;
high trolollic lollic loe, &cc.
Though others think they have as much,
Yet he that says so lies:
Then come away, turn

To, Chalkhill.

PISC. Well sung Coridon, this Song was sung with mettle, and it was choicely fitted to the occasion; I shall love you for it as long as I know you; I would you were a brother of the Angle, for a companion that is chearful, and free from swearing and scurrilous discourse, is worth gold. I love such mirth as does not make friends ashamed to look upon one another next morning; nor men (that cannot well bear it) to repent the money they spend when they be warmed with drink: and take this for a rule, You may pick out such times and such companies, that you may make your selves metrier for a little than a great deal of money; for 'Tis the company and not the charge that makes the feast: and such a companion you prove, I thank you for it.

But I will not complement you out of the debt that I owe you, and therefore I will begin my Song, and wish it may be as well liked.

The Anglers Song.

As inward love breeds outward talk,
The Hound some praise, and some the Hawk;
Some better pleas' d with private sport,
Use Tenis, some a Mistress court:
But these delights I neither wish,
Nor envy, while I freely fish.

Who hunts, doth oft in danger ride;
Who Hawks, lures oft both far and wide;
Who uses Games shall often prove
A loser; but who falls in love,
Is fettered in fond Cupichs snare:
My Angle breeds me no such care.

Of Recreation there is none
So free as Fishing is alone;
All other pastimes do no lesse
Than mind and body both possesse:
My hand alone my work can do,
So I can fish and study too.

I care not, I, to fish in seas,
Fresh rivers best my mind do please,
Whose sweet calm course I contemplate,
And seek in life to imitate:
In civil bounds I fain would keep,
And for my past offences weep.

And when the timorous Trout I wait
To take, and he devours my bait,
How poor a thing sometimes I find
Will captivate a greedy mind:
And when none bite, I praise the wise,
Whom wain allurements ne're surprise.

But yet though while I fish, I fast; I make good fortune my repast: And thereunto my friend invite, In whom I more than that delight: Who is more welcome to my dish, Than to my angle was my fish,

As well content no prize to take,
As use of taken prize to make:
For so our Lord was pleased when
He Fishers made fishers of men:
Where (which is in no other game)
A man may fish and praise bis Name,

The first men that our Saviour dear
Did chuse to wait upon him here,
Blest Fishers were, and fish the last
Food was, that he on earth did taste.
I therefore strive to follow those,
Whom he to follow him hath chose.

C O R. Well sung brother, you have paid your debt in good coine, we Anglers are all beholding to the good man that made this Song. Come Hostess, give us more Ale, and lets drink to him.

And now lets every one go to bed that we may rise early; but first lets pay our reckoning, for I will have nothing to hinder me in the morning, for my purpose is to prevent the Sun-rising.

PET. A match; Come Coridon, you are to be my Bed-fellow: I know, brother, you and your Scholar will lie together; but where shall we meet to morrow night? for my friend Coridon and I will go up the water towards Ware.

PISC. And my Scholar and I will go down towards Waltam.

C O R. Then lets meet here, for here are fresh sheets that smell of Lavender, and I am sure we cannot expect better meat, or better usage in any place.

PET. 'Tis a match. Good night to every body.

PISC. And so say I.

VENA. And so say I.

PISC. Good morrow good Hostess, I see my brother Peter is still in bed: Come give my Scholar and me a Morning-drink, and a bit of meat to breakfast, and be sure to get a good dish of meat or two against supper, for we shall come home as hungry as Hawks. Come Scholar, lets be going.

VENA. Well now, good Master, as we walk towards the River give me direction, according to your promise, how I shall fish for a Trout.

PISC. My honest Scholar, I will take this very convenient opportunity to do it.

The Trout is usually caught with a worm or a Minnow, (which some call a Pinke) or with a flie, viz. either a natural or an artificial flie: concerning which three I will give you some observations and directions.

And first for Worms: Of these there be very many sorts, some bred onely in the earth, as the Earth-worm; others of or amongst

Plants, as the Dng-worm; and others bred either out of excrements, or in the bodies of living creatures, as in the horns of Sheep or Deer; or some of dead flesh, as the Magot or gentle, and others.

Now these be most of them particularly good for particular Fishes: but for the Trout, the deuctorm, (which some also call the Lobworm) and the Brandling are the chief; and especially the first for a great Trout, and the latter for a less. There be also of Lobeworms some called squireletayles, (a worm that has a red head, a streak down the back and a broad tail) which are noted to be the best, because they are the toughest and most lively, and live longest in the water: for you are to know, that a dead worm is but a dead bait, and like to eatch nothing, compared to a lively, quick, stirring worm: and for a Brandling, he is usually found in an old dunghil, or some very rotten place near to it: but most usually in Cowdung, or hogsdung, rather than horse-dung, which is somewhat too hot and dry for that worm. But the best of them are to be found in the bark of the Tanners which they cast up in heaps after they have used it about their leather.

There are also divers other kinds of worms which for colour and shape alter even as the ground out of which they are got, as the marsh-worm, the tag-tail, the stag-worm, the dock-worm, the oak-worm, the gilt-tayle, the twachel or lob-worm (which of all others is the most excellent bait for a Salmon) and too many to name, even as many sorts, as some think there be of several hearbs or shrubs, or of several kinds of birds in the air; of which I shall say no more, but tell you. that what worms soever you fish with, are the better for being long kept before they be used; and in case you have not been so provident, then the way to cleanse and scour them quickly, is to put them all night in water, if they be Lob-worms, and then put them into your bag with fennel: but you must not put your Brandling above an hour in water, and then put them into fennel for sudden use: but if you have time and purpose to keep them long, then they be best preserved in an earthen pot with good store of Mosse, which is to be fresh every three or four dayes in Summer, and every week or eight dayes in Winter: or at least the mosse taken from them.

and clean washed, and wrung betwixt your hands till it be dry. and then put it to them again. And when your worms, especially the Brandling begins to be sick, and lose of his bignesse, then you may recover him, by putting a little milk or cream (about a spoonful in a day) into them by drops on the mosse; and if there be added to the cream an egge beaten and boiled in it, then it will both fatten, and preserve them long. And note, that when the knot, which is near to the middle of the brandling begins to swell, then he is sick, and, if he be not well look'd to, is near dying. And for mosse, you are to note, that there be divers kinds of it, which I could name to vou, but will onely tell you, that that which is likest a Bucks-Horn is the best, except it be white mosse, which grows on some heaths, and is hard to be found. And note, that in a very dry time, when you are put to an extremity for worms. Walnut-tree leaves squeez'd into water, or salt in Water, to make it bitter or salt and then that water poured on the ground, where you shall see worms are used to rise in the night, will make them to appear above ground presently.

And now, I shall shew you how to bait your hook with a worm, so as shall prevent you from much trouble, and the loss of many a hook too; when you Fish for a Trout with a running line: that is to say, when you fish for him by hand at the ground. I will direct you in this as plainly as I can, that you may not mistake.

Suppose it be a big Lob-worm, put your book into him somewhat above the middle, and out again a little below the middle: baving so done, draw your worm above the arming of your book, (but note that at the entring of your book it must not be at the bead-end of the worm, but at the tailevend of him, that the point of your book may come out toward the head-end) and baving drawn him above the arming of your book, then put the point of your book again into the very bead of the worm, till it come near to the place where the point of the book first came out: and then draw back that part of the worm that was above the shank or arming of your book, and so fish with it. And if you mean to fish with two worms, then put the second on before you turn back the bookschebad of the first worm; you cannot lose above two or three worms before you attain to what I direct you; and basing attain it it, you

will find it very useful, and thank me for it: For you will run on the ground without tangling.

Now for the Minnow or Penk, he is easily found and caught in March, or in April; for then he appears in the River, but Nature hath taught him to shelter and hide himself in the Winter in ditches that be near to the River, and there both to hide and keep himself warm in the mud or in the weeds, which rot not so soon as in a running River, in which place if he were in Winter, the distempered Floods that are usually in that season, would suffer him to take no rest. but carry him head-long to Mills and Weires to his confusion. And of these Minnows, first you are to know, that the biggest size is not the best; and next, that the middle size and the whitest are the best: and then you are to know, that your Minnow must be so put on your hook that it must turn round when 'tis drawn against the stream, and that it may turn nimbly, you must put it on a big-sized hook as I shall now direct you, which is thus. Put your hook in at his mouth and out at his gill, then having drawn your hook 2 or 3 inches beyond or through his gill, put it again into his mouth, and the point and beard out at his taile, and then tie the hook and his taile about very neatly with a white thred, which will make it the apter to turn quick in the water: that done pull back that part of your line which was slack when you put your hook into the Minnow the second time: I say pull that part of it back so that it shall fasten the head, so that the body of the Minnow shall be almost streight on your hook; this done, try how it will turn by drawing it cross the water or against a stream, and if it do not turn nimbly, then turn the tail a little to the right or left hand, and try again, till it turn quick; for if not, you are in danger to catch nothing, for know that it is impossible that it should turn too quick: And you are yet to know, that in case you want a Minnow, then a small Loch, or a Sticklebag, or any other small fish will serve as well: And you are yet to know, that you may salt, and by that means keep them fit for use three or four days or longer, and that of salt, bay-salt is the best.

And here let me tell you, what many old Anglers know right well, that at some time, and in some waters a Minnow is not to be got,

and therefore let me tell you, I have (which I will shew to you) an artificial Minnow, that will catch a Trout as well as an artificial Flie, and it was made by a handsome Woman that had a fine hand, and a live Minnow lying by her: the mould or body of the Minnow was cloth, and wrought upon or over it thus with a needle: the back of it with very sad French green silk, and paler green silk towards the belly, shadowed as verfectly as you can imagine, just as you see a Minnow; the belly was wrought also with a needle, and it was a part of it white silk, and another part of it with silver thred, the tail and fins were of a quil, which was shaven thin, the eyes were of two little black beads, and the head was so shadowed, and all of it so curiously wrought, and so exactly dissembled, that it would beguile any sharpe sighted Trout in a swift stream. And this Minnow I will now shew you, and if you like it, lend it you, to have two or three made by it, for they be easily carryed about an Angler, and be of excellent use; for note, that a large Trout will come as fiercely at a Minnow, as the highest mettle Hawk doth seize on a Partridge, or a Greybound on a Hare. I have been told, that 160 minnows have been found in a Trouts belly, cither the Trout had devoured so many, or the Miller that gave it a friend of mine had forced them down his throat after he had taken him.

Now for Flies, which is the third bait wherewith Trouts are usually taken. You are to know, that there are as many sorts of Flies as there be of Fruits: I will name you but some of them, as the dun-flie, the stone-flie, the red-flie, the moor-flie, the tawny-flie, the shell-flie, the cloudy, or blackish-flie, the flag-flie, the vine-flie: there be of flies, Caterpillars, and Canker-flies, and Bear-flies, and indeed too many either for me to name or for you to remember: and their breeding is so various and wonderful, that I might easily amaze my self, and tire you in a relation of them.

And yet I will exercise your promised patience by saying a little of the Caterpillar or the Palmer-flie or worm, that by them you may guesse what a work it were in a Discourse but to run over those very many flies, worms, and little living creatures with which the Sun and Summer adorn and beautifie the River banks and Meadows; both for the recreation and contemplation of us Anglets, and which

(I think) my self enjoy more than any other man that is not of my profession.

Pliny holds an opinion, that many have their birth or being from a dew that in the Spring falls upon the leaves of trees; and that some kinds of them are from a dew left upon herbs or flowers; and others from a dew left upon Colworts or Cabbages: All which kinds of dews being thickned and condensed, are by the Suns generative heat most of them hatch'd, and in three dayes made living creatures; and these of several shapes and colours; some being hard and tough, some smooth and soft; some are horned in their head, some in their tail, some have none: some have hair, some none: some have sixteen feet, some lesse, and some have none, but (as our Topsel1 hath with great diligence observed) those which have none, move upon the earth or upon broad leaves, their motion being not unlike to the waves of the sea. Some of them he also observes to be bred of the Eggs of other Caterpillars, and that those in their time turn to be Butter-flyes: and again, that their Eggs turn the following veer to be Caterpillars. And some affirm, that every plant has his particular flye or Caterpillar, which it breeds and feeds. I have seen, and may therefore affirm it: a green Caterpillar, or worm, as big as a small Peascod, which had fourteen legs, eight on the belly, four under the neck, and two near the tail. It was found on a hedge of Privet, and was taken thence, and put into a large Box, and a little branch or two of Privet put to it, on which I saw it feed as sharply as a dog gnaws a bone: it lived thus five or six daies, and thrived, and changed the colour two or three times, but by some neglect in the keeper of it, it then dyed and did not turn to a flye; but if it had lived, it had doubtlesse turned to one of those flies that some call flies of prey, which those that walk by the Rivers may in Summer, see fasten on smaller flies, and I think make them their food. And 'tis observable, that as there be these flies of prey which be very large, so there be others very little, created I think onely to feed them, and bred out of I know not what; whose life, they say,

¹ In his history of Serpents.

Nature intended not to exceed an hour, and yet that life is thus made shorter by other flies, or accident.

'Tis endless to tell you what the curious searchers into Natures productions have observed of these Worms and Flies: But yet I shall tell you what Aldrovandus, our Topsel, and others say of the Palmer-worm, or Caterpillar, That whereas others content themselves to feed on particular herbs or leaves, (for most think those very leaves that gave them life and shape, give them a particular feeding and nourishment, and that upon them they usually abide) yet he observes, that this is called a pilgrim or palmer-worm, for his very wandring life and various food; not contenting himself (as others do) with any one certain place for his abode, nor any certain kind of herb or flower for his feeding; but will boldly and disorderly wander up and down, and not endure to be kept to a diet, or fixt to a particular place.

Nay, the very colour of Caterpillars are, as one has observed, very elegant and beautiful: I shall (for a taste of the rest) describe one of them, which I will sometime the next moneth shew you feeding on a Willow-tree, and you shall find him punctually to answer this very description: His lips and mouth somewhat yellow, his eyes black as Let, his forehead purple, his feet and hinder parts green, his tayl two forked and black, the whole body stain'd with a kind of red spots which run along the neck and shoulder-blade, not unlike the form of Saint Andrew's Crosse, or the letter X, made thus crosse-wise, and a white line drawn down his back to his tail; all which add much beauty to his whole body. And it is to me observable, that at a fixed age this Caterpillar gives over to eat, and towards Winter comes to be covered over with a strange shell or crust called an Aurelia, and so lives a kind of dead life, without eating all the Winter; and (as others of several kinds turn to be several kinds of flies and vermin the Spring following) so this Caterpillar then turns to be a painted Butter-fly.1

Come, come my Scholar, you see the River stops our morning walk, and I will also here stop my discourse, onely as we sit down under this Honeysuckle hedge, whilst I look a Line to fit the Rod

¹ View Sir Fra. Bacon exper. 728 and 90. in his Natural History.

And so, my Scholar, you are to know, that as the ill pronunciation or ill accenting of words in a Sermon spoils it, so the ill carriage of your line, or not fishing even to a foot in a right place, makes you lose your labour: and you are to know, that though you have my Fiddle, that is, my very Rod and Tacklings with which you see I catch Fish; yet you have not my Fiddlestick, that is, you yet have not skill to know how to carry your hand and line, nor how to guide it to a right place: and this must be taught you (for you are to remember I told you, Angling is an Art) either by practice, or a long observation, or both. But take this for a rule, when you fish for a Trout with a Worm, let your line have so much, and not more Lead than will fit the stream in which you fish; that is to say, more in a great troublesome stream than in a smaller that is quieter; as near as may be, so much as will sink the bait to the bottom, and keep it still in motion, and not more.

But now lets say Grace, and fall to breakfast: what say you, Scholar, to the providence of an old Angler? does not this meat taste well? and was not this place well chosen to eat it? for this Sycamore-tree will shade us from the Suns heat.

VENA. All excellent good, and my stomach excellent good too. And I now remember and find that true which devout Lessius sayes, That poor men, and those that fast often, have much more pleasure in eating than rich men and gluttons, that alwayes feed before their stomachs are empty of their last meat, and so rob themselves of that pleasure that hungee brings to poor men. And I do seriously approve of that saying of yours, That you had rather be a civil well-grounded, temperate poor Angler, than a drunken Lord. But I hope there is none such; however I am certain of this, that I have been at many very costly dinners that have not afforded me half the content that this has done, for which I thank God and you.

And now good Master, proceed to your promised direction for making and ordering my Artificial flie.

PISC. My honest Scholar, I will do it, for it is a debt due unto you by my promise: and because you shall not think your self more engaged to me than indeed you really are, I will freely give you such

directions as were lately given to me by an ingenuous brother of the Angle, an honest man, and a most excellent Flie-fisher.

You are to note, that there are twelve kinds of Artificial made Flies to Angle with upon the top of the water, (note by the way, that the fittest season of using these is in a blustering windie day, when the waters are so troubled that the natural flie cannot be seen, or rest upon them). The first is the dun-flie in March, the body is made of dun wool, the wings of the Partridges feathers. The second, is another dun-fly, the body of Black wool, and the wings made of the black Drakes feathers, and of the feathers under his taile. The third is the stone-fly in April, the body is made of black wool made yellow under the wings, and under the taile, and so made with wings of the Drake. The fourth is the ruddy-fly in the beginning of May, the body made of red wool, wrapt about with black silk, and the feathers are the wings of the Drake, with the feathers of a red Capon also, which hang dangling on his sides next to the tail. The fifth is the yellow or greenish-fly (in May likewise) the body made of yellow wooll, and the wings made of the red cocks hackel or tail. The sixth is, the black-fly in May also, the body made of black-wool and lapt about with the herle of a Peacocks tail; the wings are made of the wings of a brown Capon with his blue feathers in his head. The seventh is the sad yellow-flie in June, the body is made of black-wool, with a yellow list on either side, and the wings taken off the wings of a Buzzard, bound with black braked hemp. The eighth is the moorish-fly made with the body of duskish wooll, and the wings made of the blackish mail of the Drake. The ninth is the tawny-fly, good untill the middle of June; the body made of tawny-wool, the wings made contrary one against the other, made of the whitish mail of the wild Drake. The tenth is the Wasp-fly in July, the body made of black wool, lapt about with yellow silk, the wings made of the feathers of the Drake, or of the Buzzard. The eleventh is the shellfly, good in mid July, the body made of greenish wool, lapt about with the herle of a Peacocks tail; and the wings made of the wings of the Buzzard. The twelfth is the dark Drake-fly, good in August, the body made with black wool, lapt about with black silk; his wings

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are made with the mail of the black Drake, with a black head. Thus have you a Jury of flies likely to betray and condemn all the Trouts in the River.

I shall next give you some other Directions for Flie-fishing, such as are given by Mr. Thomas Barker, a Gentleman that hath spent much time in Fishing: but I shall do it with a little variation.

First, let your Rod be light, and very gentle, I take the best to be of two pieces, and let not your Line exceed (especially for three or four links next to the hook) I say, not exceed three or four hairs at the most, though you may Fish a little stronger above in the upper part of your Line: but if you can attain to Angle with one hair, you shall have more rises and catch more Fish. Now you must be sure not to cumber yourself with too long a Line, as most do: and before you begin to Angle, cast to have the wind on your back, and the Sun (if it shines) to be before you, and to Fish down the stream; and carry the point or top of your Rod downward, by which means the shadow of your self, and Rod too will be the least offensive to the Fish, for the sight of any shade amazes the Fish, and spoils your sport, of which you must take a great care.

In the middle of March (till which time a man should not in honesty catch a Trout) or in April, if the weather be dark, or a little windy or cloudy, the best Fishing is with the Palmer-worm, of which I last spoke to you, but of these there be divers kinds, or at least of divers colours, these and the May-fly are the ground of all Flie-angling, which are to be thus made.

First, you must arm your hook with the line in the inside of it, then take your Scissers, and cut so much of a brown Malards feather as in your own reason will make the wings of it, you having withal regard to the bignesse or littlenesse of your hook, then lay the outmost part of your feather next to your hook, then the point of your feather next the shank of your hook; and, having so done, whip it three or four times about the hook with the same Silk, with which your hook was armed, and having made the Silk fast, take the hackel of a Code or Capons neck, or a Plovers top, which is usually better: take off the one side of the feather, and then take the hackel.

Silk, or Crewel, Gold or Silver thred, make these fast at the bent of the hook, that is to say, below your arming; then you must take the hackel, the Silver or Gold thred, and work it up to the wings, shifting or still removing your fingers as you turn the Silk about the hook: and still looking at every stop or turn, that your Gold, or what materials soever you make your Fly of, do lie right and nearly; and if you find they do so, then when you have made the head, make all fast, and then work your hackel up to the head, and make that fast: and then with a needle or pin divide the wing into two, and then with the arming Silk whip it about cross-waies betwixt the wings, and then with your thumb you must turn the point of the feather towards the bent of the hook, and then work three or four times about the shank of the hook, and then view the proportion, and if all be neat and to your liking, fasten.

I consess, no direction can be given to make a man of a dull capacity able to make a Flie well: and yet I know, this with a little practice will help an ingenuous Angler in a good degree: but to see a Flie made by an Artist in that kind, is the best teaching to make it, and then an ingenuous Angler may walk by the River and mark what Flie fall on the water that day, and catch one of them, if he see the Trouts leap at a flie of that kind, and then having alwaies hooks ready hung with him, and having a bag also, alwaies with him with Bears hair, or the hair of a Brown or Sad-coloured Heifer, hackels of a Cock or Capon, several coloured Silk and Crewel to make the body of the flie, the feathers of a Drakes head, black or brown Sheeps wool, or Hogs wool, or hair, thred of Gold and of Silver: Silk of several colours (especially sad coloured to make the flies head:) and there be also other coloured feathers both of little birds and of peckled foul. I say, having those with him in a bag, and trying to make a flie, though he miss at first, yet shall he at last hit it better, even to such a perfection as none can well teach him; and if he hit to make his Flie right, and have the luck to hit also where there is store of Trouts, a dark day, and a right wind, he will catch such store of them, as will encourage him to grow more and more in love with the Art of Fly-making.

VENA. But my loving master, if any wind will not serve, then I wish I were in Lapland, to buy a good wind of one of the honest Witches, that sell so many winds, and so cheap.

PISC. Marry Scholar, but I would not be there, nor indeed from under this tree: for look how it begins to rain, and by the clouds if I mistake not we shall presently have a smoaking showre, and therefore sit close; this Sycamore-tree will shelter us: and I will tell you, as they shall come into my mind, more observations of flie-fishing for a Trout.

But first for the wind, you are to take notice, that of the winds the Southwind is said to be best. One observes, That

— When the wind is South, It blowes your bait into a fishes mouth.

Next to that, the West wind is believed to be the best: and having told you that the East wind is the worst, I need not tell you which wind is the best in the third degree: And yet (as Solomon observes) that He that considers the wind shall never sow: so he that busies his head too much about them, (if the weather be not made extream cold by an East wind) shall be a little superstitious: For as it is observed by some, That there is no good Horse of a bad colour; so I have observed that if it be a cloudy day, and not extream cold, let the Wind sit in what corner it will, and do its worst. And yet take this for a rule, that I would willingly fish standing on the Lee-shore: and you are to take notice, that the fish lies or swimmes nearer the bottom, and in deeper water in Winter than in Summer; and also nearer the bottom in any cold day, and then gets nearest the low-side of the water.

But I promised to tell you more of the Flie-fishing for a Trout, which I may have time enough to do; for you see it rains May-butter: First for a May-flie, you may make his body with greenish coloured Crewel, or Willowish colour; darkning it in most places with waxed Silk, or tib'd with black hair, or some of them rib'd with silver thred; and such Wings for the colour as you see the flie to have at that season; nay, at that very day on the water. Or

you may make the Oak-flie with an Orange-tawny and black ground, and the brown of a Mallards feather for the Wings; and you are to know, that these two are most excellent flies, that is, the May-flie and the Oak-flie. And let me again tell you, that you keep as far from the water as you can possibly, whether you fish with a flie or worm; and fish down the stream; and when you fish with a flie, if it be possible, let no part of your line touch the water, but your flie only; and be still moving your flie upon the water, or casting it into the water, you your self being also alwayes moving down the stream. Mr. Barker commends several sorts of the Palmer flies, not onely those rib'd with silver and gold, but others that have their bodies all made of black, or some with red, and a red hackel; you may also make the Hawthorn-flie, which is all black, and not big, but very small, the smaller the better; or the Oak-flie, the body of which is Orange-colour and black Crewel, with a brown Wing; or a Flie made with a Peacocks feather, is excellent in a bright day: You must be sure you want not in your Magazine bag the Peacocks feather, and grounds of such wool and Crewel as will make the Grashopper; and note that usually the smallest flies are best: and note also, that the light flie does usually make most sport in a dark day; and the darkest and least flie in a bright or clear day; and lastly note, that you are to repair upon any occasion to your Magazine-bag, and upon any occasion vary and make them lighter or sadder according to your fancy or the day.

And now I shall tell you, that the fishing with a natural flie is excellent, and affords much pleasure; they may be found thus, the May-flie usually in and about that moneth near to the River side, especially against rain; the Oak-flye on the butt or body of an Oak or Arb from the beginning of May to the end of August; it is a brownish flie, and easie to be so found, and stands usually with his head downward, that is to say, towards the root of the tree: the small black flie, or Hawthorn-flie, is to be had on any Hawthorn bush after the leaves be come forth; with these and a short Line (as I shewed to Angle for a Chub) you may dape or dop, and also with a Grashopper behind a tree, or in any deep hole, still making

it to move on the top of the water, as if it were alive, and still keeping your self out of sight, you shall certainly have sport if there be *Trouts*; yea, in a hot day, but especially in the evening of a hot day.

And now, Scholar, my direction for Flie-fishing is ended with this showre, for it has done raining, and now look about you, and see how pleasantly that Meadow looks; nay, and the Earth smells as sweetly too. Come, let me tell you what holy Mr. Herbert sayes of such dayes and flowers as these, and then we will thank God that we enjoy them, and walk to the River and sit down quietly, and try to catch the other brace of Trouts.

Sweet day, so cool, so calm, so bright, The bridal of the earth and skie, Sweet dews shall weep thy fall to night, for thou must die.

Sweet Rose, whose hew, angry and brave, Bids the rash gazer wipe his eye, Thy root is ever in its grave, and thou must dye.

Sweet Spring, full of sweet dayes and roses, A box where sweets compacted lye; My Musick shewes you have your closes, and all must dye.

Only a sweet and virtuous soul,
Like seasoned Timber never gives,
But when the whole world turns to cole,
then chiefly lives.

VENA. I thank you, good Master, for your good direction for Flie/fishing, and for the sweet injoyment of the pleasant day, which is so far spent without offence to God or man: and I thank you for the sweet close of your discourse with Mr. Herberts Verses, which I have heard loved Angling; and I do the rather believe it, because

he had a spirit suitable to Anglers, and to those primitive Christians, that you love, and have so much commended.

PISC. Well my loving Scholar, and I am pleased, to know that you are so well pleased with my direction and discourse.

And since you like these Verses of Mr. Herberts so well, let me tell you what a reverend and learned Divine that professes to imitate him, (and has indeed done so most excellently) hath writ of our Book of Common-Prayer, which I know you will like the better, because he is a friend of mine, and I am sure no enemy to Angling.

What? prayer by the book? and common? Yes, why not?
The Spirit of grace,
And supplication
Is not left free alone
For time and place,
But manner too: to trad or speak by rote,
Is all alike to him, that prayer.

They that in private by themselves alone
Do pray, may take
What liberty they please,
In chusing of the wayes
Wherein to make

In's heart, what with his mouth he saves.

Their souls most intimate affections known
To him that sees in secret, when
Th' are most conceal'd from other men.

But be, that unto others leads the way
In publick prayer,
Should do it so

As all that hear may know
They need not fear

To tune their hearts unto his tongue, and say, Amen; nor doubt they were betray'd To blaspheme, when they should have pray'd.

Devotion will add Life unto the Letter,
And why should not
That which Authority
Prescribes, esteemed be
Advantage got?
If th' prayer he good the companies the let

If th' prayer be good, the commoner the better, Prayer in the Churches words, as well As sense, of all prayers bears the bell.

Ch. Harvie.

And now, Scholar, I think it will be time to repair to our Anglerods, which we left in the water, to fish for themselves, and you shall chuse which shall be yours; and it is an even lay, one of them catches.

And let me tell you, this kind of fishing with a dead rod, and laying night-hooks, are like putting money to Use; for they both work
for the Owners, when they do nothing but sleep, or eat, or rejoyce,
as you know we have done this last hour, and sate as quietly and as
free from cares under this Sycamore, as Virgills Tityrus and his Melibocadid under their broad Beceb-tree: No life, my honest Scholar, no life
so happy and so pleasant, as the life of a well governed Angler, for when
the Lawyer is swallowed up with business, and the Statetum is preventing or contriving plots, then we sit on Cowrlip-banks, hear the
birds sing, and possesse ourselves in as much quietnesse as these silent
silver streams, which we now see glide so quietly by us. Indeed my
good Scholar, we may say of Angling, as Dr. Boteler said of Strawberries; Doubtlesse God could have made a better berry, but doubtlesse God
mever did: And so (if I might be Judge) God never did make a more calm,
quiet, innocent recreation than Angling.

Ile tell you Schollar, when I sate last on this Prim-rose-bank, and look'd down these Meadows; I thought of them as Charles the Emperour did of the City of Florence: That they were too pleasant to be look'd on, but onely on Holy-Dayes: as I then sate on this very grass, I turn'd my present thoughts into verse: 'Twas a wish which Ile repeat to you.

The Anglers Wish.

I in these flowry Meades wo'd be: These Christal streams should solace me; To whose harmonious bubling noise, I with my Angle wo'd rejoice, Sit here and see the Turtle-dove. Court his chaste Mate to acts of love, Or on that bank feel the West wind Breathe health and plenty, please my mind To see sweet dew-drops kisse these flowers, And then washt off by April-showers: Here bear my Clota sing 1 a song, There see a Black-bird feed ber young, Or a Leverock build ber nest: Here give my weary spirits rest, And raise my low pitcht thoughts above Earth, or what poor mortals love: Thus free from Law-suits, and the noise Of Princes Courts I wo'd rejoyce.

Or with my Bryan, and a book,
Loyter long dayes near Shawford-brook;
There sit by him, and eat my meat,
There see the Sum both rise and set:
There hid good morning to next day,
There meditate my time away:
And angle on, and bog to bave
A quiet passage to a welcome grave.

When I had ended this composure, I left this place, and saw a Brother of the Angle sit under that hony-suckle-hedge (one that will prove worth your acquaintance.) I sare down by him, and presently we met with an accidental piece of merriment, which I will relate to you; for it rains still.

¹ Like Hermit poor.

On the other-side of this very hedge sate a gang of Gypsies, and near to them sate a gang of Beggers. The Gypsies were then to divide all the money that had been got that week, either by stealing linnen or poultrie, or by Fortune-telling or Legerdemain, or, indeed by any other sleights and secrets belonging to their mysterious Government. And the sum that was got that week proved to be but twenty and some odd shillings. The odd money was agreed to be distributed amongst the poor of their own Corporation; and for the remaining twenty shillings, that was to be divided unto four Gentlemen Gypsies, according to their several degrees in their Common-wealth. And the first or chiefest Gypsie, was to have a third part of the twenty shillings, which all men know is 6e. 8d.

The second was to have a fourth part of the 20s, which all men know to be se.

The third was to have a fifth part of the 20s, which all men know to be 4s.

The fourth and last Cippin was to have a girth page of the country and last Cippin was to have a girth page of the countr

The fourth and last Gipsie was to have a sixth part of the 20s, which all men know to be 3s. 4d.

As for example,

3 times 6s. 8d. is . . . 20s.
And so is 4 times 5s. . . 20s.
And so is 5 times 4s. . 20s.
And so is 6 times 3s. 4d. . 20s.

And yet he that divided the money was so very a Gipsie, that though he gave to every one these said sums, yet he kept one shilling of it for himself.

As for example	,		s.	đ.
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But now you shall know, that when the four Gipsies saw he had got one shilling by dividing the money, though not one of them knew why to demand more, yet like Lords and Courtiers every Gipsie envied him that was the gainer, and wrangled with him, and every one said the remaining shilling belonged to him: and so they fell to so high a contest about it, as none that knowes the faithfulness of one Gipsie to another, will easily believe; only we that have lived this last twenty years, are certain that money has been able to do much mischief. However the Gipsies were too wise to go to Law, and did therefore chuse their choice friends Rook and Shark, and our late English Gusman, to be their Arbitrators and Umpire; and so they left this Honey-succle bedg, and went to Tell fortunes, and cheat, and get more money and lodging in the next Village.

When these were gone, we heard as high a contention amongst the beggars, Whether it was easiest to rip a Cloak, or to unrip a cloak? One beeour affirmed it was all one. But that was denyed by asking her, If doing and undoing were all one? then another said, 'Twas easiest to unrip a cloak, for that was to let it alone. But she was answered, by asking her, how she unript it, if she let it alone? And she confest her self mistaken. These and twenty such like questions were proposed, and answered with as much beggarly Logick and earnestnesse, as was ever heard to proceed from the mouth of the most pertinacious Schismatick; and sometimes all the Beggars (whose number was neither more nor lesse than the Poets nine Muses) talk'd all together about this ripping and unripping, and none heard what the other said; but at last one beggar crav'd audience, and told them, that old father Claus, whom Ben Johnson in his Beggars Bush created King of their Corporation, was that night to lodge at an Ale-house (called Catch-her-by-the-way,) not far from Waltam-Crosse, and in the highrode towards London; and he desired them to spend no more time about that and such like questions, but refer all to Father Claus at night, and in the mean time draw cuts what song should be next sung, and who should sing it. They all agreed to the motion, and the lot fell to her that was the youngest, and veriest Virgin of the Company, and she sung Franck Davisons Song, which he made forty years

ago, and all the others of the company joined to sing the burthen with her: the Ditty was this, but first the burthen.

> Bright shines the Sun, play beggars play, Here's scraps enough to serve to day.

What noise of viols is so sweet
As when our merry clappers ring?
What mirth doth want when beggars meet?
A beggar's life is for a King:
Eat, drink and play, sleep when we list,
Go where we will, so stocks he mist.
Bright shines the Sun, play beggars play,
here's scraps enough to serve to day.

The world is ours and ours alone, For we alone have world at will; We purchase not, all is our own, Both fields and streets we beggars fill: Play beggars play, play beggars play, bere's scrapp enough to serve to day.

A bundred berds of black and white
Upon our Goums securely feed
And yet if any dare us bite,
He dies therefore as sure as Creed:
Thus beggars Lord it as they please,
And only beggars live at ease:
Bright shines the sun, play beggars play,
Here's scraps enough to serve to day.

VENA. I thank you good Master, for this piece of merriment, and this Song, which was well humoured by the Maker, and well remembred by you.

PISC. But I pray forget not the Ketch which you promised to make against night; for our Country man, honest Coridon, will expect

your Ketch and my Song, which I must be forced to patch up; for it is so long since I learnt it, that I have forgot a part of it. But come, now it hath done raining, let's stretch our legs a little in a gentle walk to the River, and try what interest our Angles will pay us for lending them so long to be used by the Trouts, lent them indeed like Usurers, for our profit and their destruction.

 $V \to N \; A.$ Oh me, look you Master, a fish a fish, oh las Master, I have lost her.

PISC. I marry Sir, that was a good fish indeed: if I had had the luck to have taken up that Rod, then 'tis twenty to one, he should not have broke my line by running to the rods end as you suffered him: I would have held him within the bent of my Rod, (unlesse he had been fellow to the great Trout that is near an ell long, which was of such a length and depth, that he had his picture drawn, and now to be seen at mine Hoste Rickabies at the George in Ware,) and it may be, by giving that very great Trout the Rod, that is, by casting it to him into the water, I might have caught him at the long run; for so I use alwayes to do when I meet with an overgrown fish, and you will learn to do so too hereafter: for I tell you, Scholar, fishing is an Art, or, at least, it is an Art to catch fish.

V E N A. But Master, I have heard, that the great Trout you speak of is a Salmon.

PISC. Trust me Scholar, I know not what to say to it. There are many Countrey people that believe Hares change Sexes every year: And there be very many learned men think so too; for in their dissecting them they find many reasons to incline them to that belief. And whether this were a Salmon when he came into the fresh water, and his not returning into the Sea hath altered him to another colour or kind, I am not able to say; but I am certain he hath all the signs of being a Trout, both for his shape, colour, and spots, and yet many think he is not.

VENA. But Master, will this Trout which I had hold of die? for it is like he hath the hook in his belly.

PISC. I will tell you, Scholar, that unless the hook be fast in his very Gorge, he will live, and a little time with the help of the water,

will rust the hook, and it will in time wear away: as the gravel doth in the horse hoof, which only leaves a false quarter.

And now Scholar, lets go to my Rod. Look you Scholar, I have a fish too, but it proves a logger-headed Chub, and this is not much amiss, for this will pleasure some poor body, as we go to our lodging to meet our Brother Peter and honest Coridon. Come, now bait your hook again, and lay it into the water, for it rains again; and we will ev'n retire to the Sycamore-tree, and there I will give you more directions concerning Fishing: For I would fain make you an Artist.

VENA. Yes, good Master, I pray let it be so.

PISC. Well Scholar, now we are sate down and are at ease. I shall tell you a little more of trout/fishing, because I speak of the Salmon (which I purpose shall be next,) and then of the Pike or Luce. You are to know, there is night as well as day-fishing for a trout, and that in the night the best trouts come out of their holes; and the manner of taking them, is on the top of the water with a great Lob or Garden worm, or rather two, which you are to fish with in a place where the waters run somewhat quietly (for in a stream the bait will not be so well discerned.) I say, in a quiet or dead place near to some swift, there draw your bait over the top of the Water, to and fro, and if there be a good trout in the hole, he will take it, especially if the night be dark: for then he is bold and lies near the top of the water, watching the motion of any Frog, or Water-Rat or Mouse that swims betwixt him and the skie, these he hunts after. if he sees the water but wrinckle, or move in one of these dead holes, where these great old Trouts usually lie near to their holds: for you are to note, that the great old Trout is both subtil and fearful, and lies close all day, and does not usually stir out of his hold, but lies in it as close in the day as the timerous hare does in her form: for the chief feeding of either is seldome in the day, but usually in the night, and then the great Trout feeds very boldly.

And you must fish for him with a strong Line, and not a little hook, and let him have time to gorge your hook, for he does not usually forsake it, as he oft will in the day fishing: and if the night be not dark, then Fish so with an Artificial fly of a light-colour: nay,

he will sometimes rise at a dead Mouse, or a piece of cloth, or any thing that seems to swim cross the water; or to be in motion: this is a choice way, but I have not oft used it, because it is void of the pleasures, that such dayes as these, that we two now enjoy, afford an Angler.

And you are to know, that in Hampshire, which I think exceeds all England for swift, shallow, clear, pleasant Brooks, and store of Trouts, they use to catch Trouts in the night, by the light of a Torch or straw, which when they have discovered, they strike with a Trout-speer or other wayes. This kind of way they catch very many, but I would not believe it till I was an eye-witness of it, nor do I like it now I have seen it.

VENA. But Master, do not Trouts see us in the night?

PISC. Yes, and hear, and smell too, both then and in the day time; for Cenner observes, the Otter smells a Fish forty furlongs off him in the water: and that it may be true, seems to be affirmed by Sir Francis Bacon (in the eighth Century of his Natural History) who there proves, that waters may be the Medium of sounds, by demonstrating it thus, That if you knock two stones together very deep under the water, those that stand on a bank near to that place may hear the noise without any diminution of it by the water. He also offers the like experiment concerning the letting an Anchor fall by a very long eable or tope on a rock, or the sand within the Sea: and this being so well observed and demonstrated, as it is by that learned man, has made me to believe that Eeles unbed themselves, and stir at the noise of the Thunder, and not onely, as some think, by the motion or the stirring of the earth, Which is occasioned by that Thunder.

And this reason of Sir Francis Bacon (Exper. 792.) has made me crave pardon of one that I laught at, for affirming that he knew Carps come to a certain place in a Pond to be fed at the ringing of a Bell, or the beating of a Drum: and it shall be a rule for me to make as little noise as I can when I am fishing, until Sir Francis Bacon be confuted, which I shall give any man leave to do.

And, lest you may think him singular in this opinion, I will tell you, this seems to be believed by our learned Doctor Hackwell, who

(in his Apology of God's Power and Providence, f. 360) quotes Pliny to report that one of the Emperors had particular Fish-ponds, and in them several Fish, that appeared and came when they were called by their particular names: and St. James tells us (thep. 1. and 7) that all things in the Sea have been tamed by Mankind. And Pliny tells us (lib. 9. 35) that Antonia the Wife of Drusus had a Lamprey, at whose gils she hung Jewels or Ear-rings; and that others have been so tender-hearted, as to shed tears at the death of Fishes, which they have kept and loved. And these Observations, which will to most hearers seem wonderful, seem to have a further confirmation from Martial, (lib. 4. epier. 30.) who writes thus:

Piscator, fuge, ne nocens, &c.

Angler! would'st thou be guiltless? then forbear,
For these are sacred fishes that swim here;
Who know their Sowereign, and will lick his band;
Than which none's greater in the worlds command:
Nay more, th' have names, and when they called are,
Do to their several owners Call repair.

All the further use that I shall make of this, shall be to advise Anglers to be patient, and forbear swearing, lest they be heard and catch no Fish.

And so I shall proceed next to tell you, it is certain, that certain fields near Lemster, a Town in Hereford-shire, are observed that they make the sheep that graze upon them more fat than the next, and also to bear finer Wool; that is to say, that, that year in which they feed in such a particular pasture, they shall yield finer wool than they did that Year before they came to feed in it, and courser again if they shall return to their former pasture; and again return to a finer wool being fed in the fine-wool ground. Which I tell you, that you may the better believe that I am certain, if I catch a Trout in one Meadow, he shall be white and faint, and very like to be lowsie; and as certainly, if I catch a Trout in the next Meadow, he shall be strong, and red, and lusty, and much better meat: Trust me, Scholar,

I have eaught many a Trout in a particular Meadow, that the very shape and the enamell'd colour of him hath been such, as hath joyed me to look on him; and I have with much pleasure concluded with Solomo, Everything is beautiful in his season.

I should by promise speak next of the Salmon, but I will by your favour say a little of the Umber or Grayling; which is so like a Treut for his shape and feeding, that I desire I may exercise your patience with a short discourse of him, and the next shall be of the Salmon.

CHAPTER VI

Observations of the Umber or Grayling, and directions

bow to fish for them.

P 1 S C. The Umber and Grayling are thought by some to differ as the Herring and Pileber do: But though they may do so in other Nations, I think those in England differ nothing but in their names. Aldrovandas sayes, they be of a Trout kind: and Gesner sayes, that in his Countrey (which is Swisserland) he is accounted the choicest Fish. And in Italy, he is in the moneth of May so highly valued, that he is sold then at a much higher rate than any other Fish. The French (which call the Chub Un Villan) call the Umber of the Lake Lemon, Un Umble Chevaliere; and they value the Umber or Grayling so highly, that they say he feeds on Gold, and that many have been caught out of their famous River of Loyre, out of whose bellies grains of gold have been often taken. And some think that he feeds on Water-time, and smells so at his first taking out of the water; and they may think so with as good reason as we do, that our Smelts smell like Violets at their being first caught; which I think is a truth. Aldrovandus sayes, the Salmon, the Grayling, and Trout, and all Fish that live in clear and sharp streams, are made by their mother Nature of such exact shape and pleasant colours, purposely to invite us to a joy and contentednesse in feasting with her. Whether this is a truth or not, is not my purpose to dispute; but 'tis certain, all that write of the Umber declare him to be

very medicinable. And Gemer sayes, that the fat of a Grayling being set with a little Honey a day or two in the Sun in a little glass, is very excellent against redness, or any thing that breeds in the eyes. Salvian takes him to be called Umber from his swift swimming or gliding out of sight, more like a shadow or a ghost than a fish. Much more might be said both of the smell and taste, but I shall only tell you, that S. Ambroze the glorious Bishop of Milan (who liv'd when the Church kept Fasting days) calls him the flowre fish, or flowre of fishes, and that he was so far in love with him, that he would not let him pass without the honour of a long Discourse; but I must; and pass on to tell you how to take this dainty fish.

First, Note, That he grows not to the bigness of a Trout; for the biggest of them do not usually exceed eighteen inches, he lives in such Rivers as the Trout does, and is usually taken with the same baits as the Trout is, and after the same manner; for he will bite both at the Minnow, or Worm, or Fly, (though he bites not often at the Minnow) and is very gamesome at the Fly, and much simpler, and therefore bolder than a Trout; for he will rise twenty times at a fly, if you miss him, and yet rise again. He has been taken with a fly made of the red feathers of a Parraketa, a strange outlandish bird, and he will rise at a fly not unlike a gnat or a small moth, or indeed, at most flies that are not too big. He is a Fish that lurks close all winter, but is very pleasant and jolly after mid-April, and in May, and in the hot months: he is of a fine shape, his flesh is white. his teeth, those little ones that he has are in his throat, yet he has so tender a mouth, that he is oftner lost after an Angler has hooked him than any other Fish. Though there be many of these Fishes in Trent, and some other smaller rivers, as that which runs by Salisbury, yet he is not so general a Fish as the Trout, nor to me so good to eat or to Angle for. And so I shall take my leave of him, and come to some Observations of the Salmon, and how to catch him.

CHAPTER VII

Observations of the Salmon, with directions how to fish for him.

Pis c. The Salmon is accounted the King of freshwater-Fish, and it as admits of no tincture of salt or brackishness, He is said to breed or east his spawn in most Rivers in the month of August: some say, that then they dig a hole or grave in a safe place in the gravel, and there place their eggs or spawn (after the Melter has done his natural Office) and then hide it most cunningly, and cover it over with gravel and stones; and so leave it to their Creators protection, who by a gentle heat which he influses into that cold element makes it brood and beget life in the spawn, and to become Samlets early in the spring next following.

The Salmons having spent their appointed time, and done this Natural Duty in the fresh waters, they then haste to the Sea before Winter, both the Melter and Spawner: but if they be stopt by Floodgates or Weres, or lost in the fresh waters, then those so left behind, by degrees grow sick, and lenn, and unseasonable, and kipper, that is to say, have bony gristles grow out of their lower chaps (not unlike a Hawks beak) which hinders their feeding, and in time such Fish so left behind, pine away and dye. 'Tis observed, that he may live thus one year from the Sea; but he then grows insipid and tasteless, and loses both his blood and strength, and pines and dies the second year. And 'tis noted, that those little Salmons called Skeggers, which abound in many Rivers relating to the Sea, are bred by such sick Salmon, that might not go to the Sea, and that though they abound, yet they never thrive to any considerable bigness.

But if the old Salmon gets to the Sea, then that gristle wears away, or is cast off (as the Eagle is said to cast his bill) and he recovers his strength, and comes next Summer to the same River (if it be possible) to enjoy the former pleasures that there possest him; for (as one has wittily observed) he has (like some persons of Honour and Richets,

which have both their Winter and Summer houses) the fresh Rivers for Summer, and the salt water for Winter, to spend his life in; which is not (as Sir Frencis Bacon hath observed in his History of Life and Death) above ten years: And it is to be observed, that though they grow big in the Sea, yet they grow not fat but in fresh Rivers; and it is observed, that the farther they get from the Sea, they be both the fatter and better.

Next, I shall tell you, that though they make very hard shift to get out of the fresh Rivers into the Sea, yet they will make harder shift to get out of the salt into the fresh Rivers, to spawn or possesse the pleasures that they have formerly found in them, to which end they will force themselves through Flood-gates, or over Weires, or bedges, or stops in the water, even beyond common belief. Gesner speaks of such places, as are known to be above eight foot high above water. And our Cambben mentions (in his Brittannia), the like wonder to be in Pembroke-shire, where the river Tivy falls into the Sea, and that the fall is so down-right, and so high, that the people stand and wonder at the strength and slight that they see the Salmon use to get our of the Sea into the said River; and the manner and height of the place is so notable, that it is known far by the name of the Salmon-leap; concerning which, take this also out of Michoel Draiton, my honest old friend.

And when the Salmon seeks a fresher stream to find, (which hither from the Sea comes yearly by his kind). As he towards season grows, and stems the watry tract. Where Tivy falling down, makes on high cataract, Forc'd by the rising rocks that there her course oppose, As though within her bounds they meant her to inclose; Here when the labouring fish does at the foot arrive, And finds that by his strength he does but winhly strive, His tail takes in his mouth, and, hending like a how That's to ful compass drawm, aloft himself doth throw, Then springing at his height as doth a little wand That hended end to end, and started from mans hand,

Far off it self doth east; so does the Salmon vaut, And if at first be fail, bis second Summer sought, He instantly essues, and, from bis mimber ring, Still yorking, never leaves until bimself be fling Above the opposing stream.—

And next I shall tell you, that it is observed by Gener and others, that there is no better Salmon than in England: and that though some of our Northern Countries have as fat and as large as the River Thames, yet none are of so excellent a taste.

And as I have told you that Sir Francis Bacon observes, the age of a Salmon exceeds not ten years; so let me next tell you, that his growth is very sudden: it is said, that after he is got into the sea, he becomes from a Samlet, not so big as a Gudgion, to be a Salmon, in as short a time as a Gosling becomes to be a Goose. Much of this has been observed by tying a Ribband or some known tape or thred, in the tail of some young Salmons, which have been taken in Weirs as they have swimm'd toward the salt water, and then by taking a part of them again with the known mark at the same place at their return from the Sea, which is usually about six moneths after; and the like experiment hath been tryed upon young Swallowes, who have after six moneths absence, been observed to return to the same chimney, there to make their nests and habitations for the Summer following: which has inclined many to think, that every Salmon usually returns to the same River in which it was bred, as young Pigeons taken out of the same Dovercote, have also been observed to do.

And you are yet to observe further, that the He Salmon is usually bigger than the Spawner, and that he is more kipper, and less able to endure a winter in the fresh water, than the She is, yet she is at that time of looking less kipper and better, as watry, and as bad meat.

And yet you are to observe, that as there is no general rule without an exception, so there are some few Rivers in this Nation, that have Trouts and Salmon in season in winter, as 'tis certain there be in the fiver Wy in Monmoutheshire, where they be in season (as Cambden observes) from September till April. But my Scholar, the observation

of this and many other things, I must in manners omit, because they will prove too large for our narrow compass of time, and therefore I shall next fall upon my direction how to fish for this Salmon.

And for that first, you shall observe, that usually he staies not long in a place (as Trouts wil) but (as I said) covets still to go nearer the Spring-head; and that he does not (as the Trout and many other fish) lie near the water side or bank or roots of trees, but swims in the deep and broad parts of the water, and usually in the middle, and near the ground; and that there you are to fish for him, and that he is to be caught as the Trout is, with a Worm, a Minnow (which some call a Penk) or with a Fly.

And you are to observe, that he is very seldom observed to bite at a Mimou, (yet sometimes he will) and not off at a fly, but more usually at a Worm, and then most usually at a Lob or Garden-worm, which should be well scoured, that is to say, seven or eight daies in Moss before you fish with them: and if you double your time of eight into sixteen or more, into twenty or more daies, it is still the better, for the worms will still be clearer, tougher, and more lively, and continue so longer upon your hook, and they may be kept longer by keeping them cool and in fresh Moss.

Note also, that many use to Fish for a Salmon with a ring of wyre on the top of their Rod, through which the Line may run to as great a length as it is needful when he is hook'd. And to that end, some use a wheel about the middle of their Rod, or nearer their hand, which are to be observed either by seeing one of them, or a large demonstration of words.

And now I shall tell you, that which may be called a secret: I have been a fishing with old Oliver Henly, (now with God) a noted Fisher, both for Trout and Salmon, and have observed, that he would usually take three or four worms out of his bag, and put them into a little box in his pocket, where he would usually let them continue half an hour or more, before he would bait his hook with them; I have asked him his reason, and he has replyed, He did but pick the best out to be in a readinesse against be baited bis book the next time: But he has been observed both by others, and my self, to catch more fish

than I or any other body, that has ever gone a fishing with him could do, and especially Salmons; and I have been told lately by one of his most intimate and secret friends, that the box in which he put those worms, was anointed with a drop, or two, or three, of the Oil of Ivy-berries, made by expression or infusion, and that by the worms remaining in that box an hour, or a like time, they had incorporated a kind of smell that was irresistably attractive, enough to force any Fish within the smell of them, to bite. This I heard not long since from a friend, but have not tryed it; yet I grant it probable, and refer my Reader to Sir Francis Batons Natural History, where he proves fishes may hear: and I am certain Gemer sayes, the Otter can smell in the water, and I know not but that Fish may do so too: 'tis left for a lover of Angling, or any that desires to improve that Art, to try this conclusion.

I shall also impart two other Experiments (but not tryed by my self) which I will deliver in the same words that they were given me (by an excellent Angler, and a very friend) in writing, he told me the latter was too good to be told, but in a learned language, lest it should be made common.

Take the stinking oil, drawn out of Polypody of the Oak by a retort, mixt with Turpentine, and Hive-honey, and annoint your bait therewith, and it will doubtless draw the fish to it.

The other is this: Vulnera bederae grandissime inflectar sudant Balsamum oleo gelato, albicantique persimile, odoris vero longe suavissimi.

'Tis supremely sweet to any fish, and yet Assfortida may do the like. But in these things I have no great faith, yet grant it probable, and have had from some chimical men (namely, from Sir George Hastings and others) an affirmation of them to be very advantageous: but no more of these, especially not in this place.

I might here, before I take my leave of the Salmon, tell you, that there is more than one sort of them, as namely, a Tecon, and another called in some places a Samlet, or by some, a Skegger: but these (and others which I forbear to name) may be Fish of another kind, (and differ, as we know a Herring and a Pilcher do,) which I think are as different, as the Rivers in which they breed, and must by me

be left to the disquisitions of men of more leisure, and of greater abilities, than I profess my self to have.

And lastly, I am to borrow so much of your promised patience, as to tell you that the Trout or Salmon being in season, have at their first taking out of the water (which continues during life) their bodies adorned, the one with such red spots, and the other with such black or blackish spots, which give them such an addition of natural beauty, as I think, was never given to any woman by the Artificial Paint or Patches in which they so much pride themselves in this Age. And so I shall leave them, and proceed to some Observations of the Pike.

CHAPTER VIII

Observations of the Luce or Pike, with directions bow to fish for him.

P1s C. The mighty Luce or Pike is taken to be the Tyrant (as doubted, but that they are bred, some by generation, and some not as namely, of a Weed called Pickrel-weed, unless learned Geiner be much mistaken; for he sayes, this weed and other glutinous matter, with the help of the Suns heat in some particular Moneths, and some Ponds apted for it by nature, do become Pikes. But doubtless divers Pikes are bred after this manner, or are brought into some Ponds some other wayes that is past mans finding out, of which we have daily testimonies.

Sit Francis Bacon in his History of Life and Death, observes the Plike to be the longest lived of any fresh-water-Fish, and yet he computes it to be not usually above forty years; and others think it to be not above ten years; and yet Gesner mentions a Pike taken in Swedeland in the year 1449. with a Ring about his neck, declaring he was put into the Pond by Frederick the second, more than two hundred years before he was last taken, as by the Inscription of that Ring (being Greek) was interpreted by the then Bishop of Worms. But of this no more, but that it is observed, that the old or very great Pikes have in them more of state than goodness; the smaller

or middle sized Pikes being by the most and choicest palates observed to be the best meat; and contrary, the Eele is observed to be the better for age and bigness.

All Pikes that live long prove chargeable to their Keepers, because their life is maintained by the death of so many other Fish, even those of his own kind, which has made him by some Writers to be called the Tyrant of the Rivers, or the Fresh-water-woolf, by reason of his bold, greedy devouring disposition; which is so keen, as Gesner relates, a man going to a Pond (where it seems a Pike had devoured all the fish) to water his Mule, had a Pike bit his Mule by the lips, to which the Pike hung so fast, that the Mule drew him out of the water, and by that accident the owner of the Mule got the Pike. And the same Gesner observes, that a Maid in Poland had a pike bit her by the foot as she was washing clothes in a Pond. And I have heard the like of a woman in Killingworth Pond, not far from Coventry. But I have been assured by my friend Mr. Seagrave, of whom I spake to you formerly, that keeps tame Otters, that he hath known a pike in extream hunger fight with one of his Otters for a Carp that the Otter had caught, and was then bringing out of the water. I have told you who relates these things, and tell you they are persons of credit, and shall conclude this observation, by telling you what a wise man has observed. It is a hard thing to persuade the belly, because it has no ears.

But if these relations be disbelieved, it is too evident to be doubted that a pile will devour a Fish of his own kind, that shall be bigger than his belly or throat will receive, and swallow a part of him, and let the other part remain in his mouth till the swallowed part be digested, and then swallow that other part that was in his mouth, and so put it over by degrees; which is not unlike the Oxe and some other beasts, taking their meat, not out of their mouth into their belly, but first into some place betwixt, and then chaw it, or digest it after, which is called Chewing the cud. And doubtless pikes will bite when they are not hungry, but as some think in very anger, when a tempting bait comes near to them.

And it is observed, that the pike will eat venomous things, (as

some kind of Frogs are) and yet live without being harmed by them: for, as some say, he has in him a natural Balsom or Antidote against all poison: and others, that he never eats the venomous Frog, till he have first killed her, and then (as Ducks are observed to do to Frogs in Spawning time, at which time some Frogs are observed to be venomous) so throughly washt her, by tumbling her up and down in the water, that he may devour her without danger. And Gesner affirms, that a Polonian Gentleman did faithfully assure him, he had seen two young Geese at one time in the belly of a pike. And doubtless a pike in his height of hunger will bite at and devour a dog that swimmes in a Pond, and there has been examples of it, or the like; for as I told you, The belly has no ears when hunger comes upon it. The vike is also observed to be a solitary, melancholly and a bold Fish: Melancholly, because he alwayes swimmes or rests himself alone, and never swimmes in sholes or with company, as Roach and Dace, and most other Fish do: And bold, because he fears not a shadow, or to see or be seen of any body, as the Trout and Chub, and all other Fish do.

And it is observed by Gesner, that the Jaw-bones, and Hearts, and Galls of pikes are very medicinable for several diseases, or to stop blood, to abate Fevers, to cure Agues, to oppose or expel the infection of the Plague, and to be many wayes medicinable and useful for the good of Mankind; but he observes, that the biting of a pike is venomous and hard to be cured.

And it is observed, that the Pike is a fish that breeds but once a year, and that other fish (as namely Loaches) do breed oftner: as we are certain tame Pigeons do almost every month, and yet the Hawk a Bird of Prey (as the Pike is of Fish) breeds but once in twelve months: and you are to note, that his time of breeding or spawning is usually about the end of February, or, somewhat later, in March, as the weather proves colder or warmer; and to note, that his manner of breeding is thus, a He and a She Pike will usually go together out of a Rivet into some ditch or creek, and that there the spawner casts her eggs, and the Melter hovers over her all that time that she is casting her spawn, but touches her not.

I might say more of this, but it might be thought curiosity or worse, and shall therefore forbear it, and take up so much of your attention, as to tell you, that the best of Pikes are noted to be in Rivers, next those in great Ponds, or Meres, and the worst in small Ponds.

But before I proceed further, I am to tell you that there is a great antipathy betwixt the Pike and some Frogs; and this may appear to the Reader of Dubravius, (a Bishop in Bobenia,) who in his Book of Fish and Fish-ponds, relates what, he sayes, he saw with his own eyes, and could not forbear to tell the Reader. Which was:

As he and the Bishop Thurzo were walking by a large Pond in Bohemia, they saw a Frog, when the Pike lay very sleepily and quiet by the shore side, leap upon his head, and the frog baving exprest malice or anger by his swolne cheeks and staring eyes, did streatch out his legs and imbraced the Pikes bead, and presently reached them to his eyes, tearing with them and his teeth those tender parts; the Pike moved with anguish, moves up and down the water, and rubs himself against weeds, and what ever he thought might quit him of his enemy; but all in vain, for the frog did continue to ride triumphantly, and to bite and torment the Pike till his strength failed, and then he sunk with the Pike to the bottome of the water; then presently the frog appeared again at the top and croaked, and seemed to rejoyce like a Conqueror, and then presently retired to her secret hole. The Bishop, that had beheld the battel, called his fisherman to fetch his nets, and by all means to get the Pike, that they might declare what had hapned: and the Pike was drawn forth, and both his eyes eaten out, at which when they began to wonder, the Fisherman wished them to forbear, and assured them he was certain that Pikes were often so served.

I told this (which is to be read in the sixth Chapter of the Book of Dubravius) unto a friend, who replied, It was as improbable as to have the mouse scratch out the cats eyes. But he did not consider, that there befishing Frogs (which the Dalmatians call the Water-Devil) of which I might tell you as wonderful a story, but I shall tell you, that 'is not to be doubted, but that there be some frogs so fearfull of the Water-snake, that, when they swim in a place in which they fear to meet with him, they get a reed acrosse into their mouthes, which if they two meet by accident, secures the frog from the strength and malice of the Snake, and note, that the frog swims the fastest.

And let me tell you, that as there be Water and Land/foge, so there be Land and Water-maker. Concerning which take this Observation, That the Land-snake breeds, and hatches het eggs, which become young Snakes in some old dunghill, or a like hot place; but the Water-snake, which is not venemous (and as I have been assured by a great observer of such secrets) does breed her young alive, which she does not then forsake, but bides with them, and in case of danger will take them all into her mouth and swim away from any apprehended danger, and then let them out again when she thinks all danger to be past: These be accidents that we Anglers sometimes see and often talk of.

But whither am I going? I had almost lost my self by remembring the Discourse of *Dubravius*. I will therefore stop here, and tell you according to my promise how to catch this fish.



His feeding is usually of fish or frogs, and sometimes a weed of his own, called Pickrell-weed. Of which I told you some think some Pikes are bred; for they have observed, that where none have been put into Ponds, yet they have there found many: and that there has been plenty of that weed in those Ponds, and that that weed both breeds and feeds them; but whether those Pikes so bred will ever breed by generation as the others do, I shall leave to the disquisitions of men of more curiosity and leasure than I professe my self to have; and shall proceed to tell you that you may fish for a Pike, either with a ledger or a walking-kait; and you are to note, that I call that a Ledger bait, which is fixed, or made to rest in one certain place when you shall be absent and I call that a walking bait, which you take with you, and have ever in motion. Concern

ing which two, I shall give you this direction, That your ledger bait is best to be a living bait, whether it be a fish or a frog; and that you may make them live the longer, you may or indeed you must take this course.

First, for your live bait of fish, a Roach or Dace is, (I think) best and most tempting, and a Pearch is the longest lived on a hook, and having cut off his fin on his back, which may be done without hurting him, you must take your knife, (which cannot be too sharp). and betwixt the head and the fin on the back, cut or make an incision, or such a scar, as you may put the arming wier of your hook into it, with as little brusing or hurting the fish as art and dilligence will enable you to do, and so carrying your arming wier along his back, unto, or near the tail of your Fish, betwixt the skin and the body of it, draw out that wier or arming of your hook at another scar near to his tail: then tie him about it with thred, but no harder than of necessity you must to prevent hurting the fish; and the better to avoid hurting the fish, some have a kind of probe to open the way, for the more easie entrance and passage of your wier or arming: but as for these time, and a little experience will teach you better than I can by words; therefore I will for the present say no more of this, but come next to give you some directions, how to bait your hook with a frog.

VENA. But, good Master, did you not say even now, that some Frogs were venemous, and is it not dangerous to touch them?

Pisc. Yes, but I will give you some Rules or Cautions concerning them: And first, you are to note, that there are two kinds of Frogs; that is to say, (if I may so express my self) a fieth, and a fishefrog; by flesh frogs, I mean frogs that breed and live on the land; and of these there be several sorts also and colours, some being peckled, some greenish, some blackish, or brown: the green Frogs, which is a small one, is, by Topsel taken to be venemous; and so is the padock, or Frog-padog, which usually keeps or breeds on the land, and is very large and bony, and big, especially the She frog of that kind; yet these will sometimes come into the water, but it is not often; and the land frogs are some of them observed by him, to

breed by laying eggs; and others to breed of the slime and dust of the earth, and that in winter they turn to slime again, and that the next Summer that very slime returns to be a living creature; this is the opinion of Pliny: and Cardanus¹ undertakes to give a reason for the raining of Frogs: but if it were in my power, it should rain none but water-Frogs, for those, I think are not venemous, especially the right water-Frogs, which about February or March breeds in ditches by slime, and blackish eggs in that slime: about which time of breeding the He and She Frogs are observed to use divers Summer-sauk; and to croak and make a noise, which the land-frog, or Padok frog never does. Now of these water-frogs, if you intend to fish with a frog for a Pike, you are to chuse the yellowest that you can get, for that the Pike ever likes best. And thus use your frog, that he may continue long alive.

Put your hook into his mouth, which you may easily do from the middle of April till August, and then the frogs mouth grows up, and he continues so for at least six moneths without eating, but is sustained, none but he whose name is Wonderful, knowes how, I say, put your hook, I mean the arming wyer through his mouth, and out at his gills, and then with a fine needle and silk sow the upper part of his legg with onely one stirch to the arming wire of your hook, or tie the frogs leg above the upper joynt to the armed wire, and in so doing, use him as though you loved him, that is, harm him as little as you may possibly, that he may live the longer.

And now, having given you this direction for the baiting your ledger hook with a live Fish or frog, my next must be to tell you, how your hook thus baited must or may be used: and it is thus. Having fastned your hook to a line, which if it be not fourteen yards long, should not be lesse than twelve; you are to fasten that line to any bough near to a hole where a Pike is, or is likely to lie, or to have a haunt, and then wind your line on any forked stick, all your line except half a yard of it or rather more, and split that forked stick with such a nick or notch at one end of it, as may keep the line

¹ In his 16. Book, De subtil, ex.

from any more of it ravelling from about the stick, then so much of it as you intended; and chuse your forked stick to be of that bigness as may keep the fish or frog from pulling the forked stick under the water till the Pike bites, and then the Pike having pulled the line forth of the clift or nick of that stick in which it was gently fastned, will have line enough to go to his hold and powch the bait and if you would have this ledger bait to keep at a fixt place, undisturbed by wind or other accidents which may drive it to the shore side, (for you are to note, that it is likeliest to catch a Pike in the midst of the water) then hang a small Plummet of lead, a stone, or piece of tyle, or a turf in a string, and cast it into the water, with the forked stick, to hang upon the ground to be an Anchor to keep the forked stick from moving out of your intended place till the Pike come. This I take to be a very good way, to use so many ledger baits as you intend to make trial of.

Or if you bait your hooks thus with live Fish or Frogs, and in a windy day, fasten them thus to a bough or bundle of straw, and by the help of that wind can get them to move crosse a pond or mere, you are like to stand still on the shore and see sport, if there be any store of Pikes, or these live Baits may make sport, being tied about the body or wings of a Gooze or Duck, and she chased over a Pond: and the like may be done with turning three or four live baits thus fastened to bladders, or boughs, or bottles of hay or flags, to swim down a River, whilst you walk quietly alone on the shore, and are still in expectation of sport. The rest must be taught you by practice; for time will not allow me to say more of this kind of fishing with live baits.

And for your dead bait for a Pike, for that you may be taught by one dayes going a fishing with me, or any other body that fishes for him, for the baiting your hook with a dead Gudgeon or a Roach, and moving it up and down the Water, is too easie a thing to take up any time to direct you to do it; and yet, because I cut you short in that, I will commute for it, by telling you that that was told me for a secret: it is this,

Dissolve Gum of Ivy in Oyle of Spike, and therewith annoynt your dead

bait for a Pike, and then cast it into a likely place, and when it has lain a short time at the bottom, draw it towards the top of the water and so up the stream, and it is more then likely that you have a Pike follow with more than common eagenesse.

And some affirm, that any bait annointed with the marrow of the Thigh-bone of an Hern is a great temptation to any Fish.

These have not been tried by me, but told me by a friend of note, that pretended to do me a courtesie, but if this direction to catch a pike thus do you no good, yet I am certain this direction how to roast him when he is caught, is choicely good, for I have tryed it; and it is somewhat the better for not being common: but with my direction you must take this Caution, that your pike must not be a smal one, that is, it must be more than half a Yard, and should be bigger.

First, open your Pike at the pills, and if need be, cut also a little slit towards bis belly; out of these take his guts, and keep his liver, which you are to shred very small with Time, Sweet-margerome, and a little Wintersavoury; to these put some pickled Oysters, and some Anchovies two or three, both these last whole (for the Anchovies will melt, and the Oysters should not); to these you must adde also a pound of sweet butter, which you are to mix with the berbs that are shred, and let them all be well salted (if the Pike be more than a yard long, then you may put into these berbs more than a pound, or if he be lesse, then lesse Butter will suffice): these being thus mixt with a blade or two of Mace, must be put into the Pikes belly, and then his belly sowed up, and so sowed up, as to keep all the Butter in his belly if it be possible, if not, then as much of it as you possible can, but take not off the scales; then you are to thrust the spit through his mouth out at his tayl, and then with four, or five, or six split sticks, or very thin lathes, and a convenient quantity of Tape or Filliting, these lathes are to be tyed round about the Pikes body from his head to his tayl, and the Tape tyed somewhat thick to prevent his breaking or falling off from the spit, let him be roasted very leasurely, and often basted with Claret wine, and Anchovyes. and Butter mixt together, and also with what moisture falls from bim into the pan: when you have roasted him sufficiently you are to hold under him (when you unwind or cut the Tape that tyes him) such a dish as you purpose

to eat him out of; and let him fall into it with the sawce that is rosted in his belly, and by this means the Pike will be kept unbroken and compleat: then to the sawce, which was within, and also in the pan, you are to adde a fit quantity of the best Butter, and to squeeze the juyce of three or four Oranges: lastly, you may either put into the Pike with the Oysters, two cloves of Garlick, and take it whole out, when the Pike is cut off the spit, or to give the sawce a hoogo, let the dish (into which you let the Pike fall) be rubbed with tit: the using or not using of this Garlick is left to your discretion.

M. B.

This dish of meat is too good for any but Anglers or honest men: and I trust, you will prove both, and therefore I have trusted you with this secret.

Let me next tell you, that Gesuer tells us there are no Pikes in Spain, and that the largest are in the Lake Thrasimane in Italy; and the next, if not equall to them, are the Pikes of England, and that in England, Lintoln shire boasteth to have the biggest. Just so doth Sussex boast of four sorts of fish; namely an Arundell Mullet, a Chichester Lobster, a Chelsey Cockle, and an Amerly Trout.

But I will take up no more of your time with this relation, but proceed to give you some observations of the Carp, and how to angle for him.

CHAPTER IX

Observations of the Carp, with Directions bow to fish for bim.

Pars c. The Carp is the Queen of Rivers, a stately, a good, and a very subtil fish, that was not at first bred, nor hath been long in England, but is now naturalized. It is said, they were brought hither by one Mr. Mascal a Gentleman that then lived at Plumsted in Sussex, a County that abounds more with this fish than any in this Nation.

You may remember that I told you, Gesner says, there are no Pikes in Spain; and doubtless, there was a time, about a hundred or a few more years ago, when there were no Carps in England, as may seem

four or six hours in a day, for three or four daies together for a River Carp, and not have a bite: and you are to note, that in some ponds it is as hard to catch a Carp as in a River; that is to say, where they have store of feed, and the water is of a clayish colour. But you are to remember, that I have told you there is no rule without an exception, and therefore being possest with that hope and patience which I wish to all Fishers, especially to the Carp-Angler, I shall tell you with what bait to fish for him. But first you are to know, that it must be either early or late; and let me tell you, that in hot weather (for he will seldom bite in cold) you cannot be too early or too late at it. And some have been so curious as to say, the 10. of April is a fatal day for Carps.

The Carp bites either at worms or at paste, and of worms I think the blewish Marsh or Meadow worm is best, but possibly another worm not too big may do as well, and so may a green Gentle; And as for pastes, there are almost as many sorts as there are Medicines for the Toothach, but doubtless sweet pastes are best; I mean, pastes made with honey or with sugar: which, that you may the better beguile this crafty Fish, should be thrown into the Pond or place in which you fish for him some hours before you undertake your tryal of skill with the Angle-rod: and doubtless if it be thrown into the water a day or two before, at severall times and in small pellets, you are the likelier when you fish for the Carp to obtain your desired sport: or in a large Pond to draw them to any certain place. that they may the better and with more hope be fished for, you are to throw into it in some certain place, either Grains or Bloud mixt with Cowdung, or with Bran; or any Garbage, as Chickens guts or the like, and then some of your small sweet pellets with which you purpose to angle: and these small pellets being a few of them also thrown in as you are Angling.

And your paste must be thus made: Take the flesh of a Rabbet or Cat cut small, and Bean-flowre, and if that may not be easily got, get other flowre, and then mix these together, and put to them either Sugar, or Honey, which I think better, and then beat these together in a Mortar, or sometimes work them in your hands, (your hands

being very clean) and then make it into a Ball, or two, or three, as you like best for your use: but you must work or pound it so long in the Mortar, as to make it so tough as to hang upon your hook without washing from it, yet not too hard: or that you may the better keep it on your hook, you may knead with your paste a little (and not much) white or yellowish wool.

And if you would have this paste keep all the year for any other Fish, then mix with it Virgins wax and clarified boney, and work them together with your hands before the Fire, then make these in to balls, and they will keep all the year.

And if you fish for a Carp with Gentles, then put upon your hook a small piece of Scarlet about this bigness , it being soked in, or anointed with Oyl of Peter, called by some Oyl of the Rock, and if your Gentles be put two or three dayes before into a box or horn anointed with honey, and so put upon your hook, as to preserve them to be living, you are as like to kill this crafty fish this way as any other: But still as you are fishing chaw a little white or brown bread in your mouth, and cast it into the pond about the place where your Flote swims. Other baites there be, but these with diligence, and patient watchfulness, will do it better than any that I have ever practised, or heard of: And yet I shall tell you, that the crumbs of white bread and honey made into a paste is a good bait for a Carp, and you know it is more easily made. And having said thus much of the Carp, my next discourse shall be of the Bream, which shall not prove so tedious, and therefore I desire the continuance of your attention.

But first I will tell you how to make this Carp that is so curious to be eaught, so curious a dish of meat as shall make him worth all your labour; and though it is not without some trouble and charges, yet it will recompence both.

Take a Carp (alive if possible), scour bim, and rub bim clean with water and salt, but scale bim not, then open bim, and put him with bis bloud and bis liver (which you must save when you open bim) into a small pot or kettle; then take sweet Magreome, Time and Parsky, of each balf a bandful, a sprig of Rosemary, and another of Savoury, bind them into two or three

small bundles, and put them to your Carp, with four or five whole Onyons, twenty pickled Oysters, and three Anchowies. Then pour upon your Carp as much claret wine as will onely cover him; and season your claret well with salt, Clowes and Mace, and the rinds of Oranges and Lemmons, cover your pot and set it on a quick fire, till it be sufficiently boiled; then take out the Carp and lay it with the broth into the dish, and pour upon it a quarter of a pound of fresh butter melted and beaten, with balf a dozen spoonfuls of the broth, the yolks of two or three eggs, and some of the herbs shred, garnish your dish with Lemmons and so serve it up.

DR. T.

DR. T.

CHAPTER X

Observations of the Bream, and directions to catch him.

P15 c. The Bream being at a full growth is a large and stately Fish; he will breed both in Rivers and ponds: but loves best to live in ponds, and where, if he likes the water and Air, he will grow not only to be very large, but as fat as a Hog; he is by Gesner taken to be more pleasant or sweet then wholsome; this Fish is long in growing, but breeds exceedingly in a water that pleases him, yea, in many Ponds so fast, as to over-store them, and starve the other Fish.

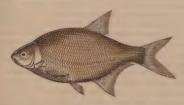
He is very broad with a forked tail, and his scales set in excellent order, he hath large eyes and a narrow sucking mouth; he hath two sets of teeth, and a lozing like bone, a bone to help his grinding. The Melter is observed to have two large Melts, and the Female two large bags of eggs or spawn.

Gemer reports, that in Poland a certain and a great number of large Breames were put into a Pond, which in the next following winter was frozen up into one intire ice, and not one drop of water remaining, nor one of these fish to be found, though they were diligently searcht for; and yet the next Spring when the ice was thawed, and the weather warm, they all appeared again. This Gesner affirms, and I quote my Author, because it seems almost as incredible as the Resurrection to an Athiest. But it may win something in point of believing it, to him that considers the breeding or reno-

vation of the Silk-worm, and of many insects. And that is considerable which Sir Francis Bacon observes in his History of Life and Death (fol. 20.) that there be some herbs that die and spring every year, and some endure longer.

But though some do not, yet the French esteem this Fish highly, and to that end have this Proverb, He that heath Breams in his pond is able to hid his friend welcome. And it is noted, that the best part of a Breame is his belly and head.

Some say, that Breams and Roaches will mix their eggs, and melt together, and so there is in many places a Bastard breed of Breams, that never come to be either large or good, but very numerous.



The Baits good to catch this Bream are many. First, paste made of brown bread and honey, gentles, or the brood of wasps that be young, and then not unlike Gentles; and should be hardned in an oven, or dried on a tile before the fire; or there is at the toot of docks, or flags, or rushes in watry places, a worm not unlike a Magot, at which Tench will bite freely. Or he will bite at a Grashopper with his legs nipt off in June and July, or at several flies under water, which may be found on flags that grow near to the water side. I doubt not but that there be many other baits that are good, but I will turn them all into this most excellent one, either for a Carp or Bream, in any river or Mere: it was given to me by a most honest and excellent Angler, and hoping you will prove both, I will impart it to you.

- 1. Let your bait be as big a red worm as you can find, without a knot. Get a pint or quart of them in an evening in garden walks, or chalky Commons after a showre of rain; and put them with clean Mosse well washed and picked, and the water squeezed out of the Moss as dry as you can, into an earthen pot or pipkin set dry, and change the Moss fresh every three or four dayes for three weeks or a moneth together, then your bait will be at the best.
- 2. Having thus prepared your baits, get your tackling ready and fitted after this sort. Take three long Angling Rods, and as many and more silk, or silk and hair lines, and as many large Swan or Goose quil floats. Then take a piece of Lead made after this manner, and fasten them to the lower ends of your Lines. Then fasten your link-hook also to the lead, and to the end of your Line, let there be about a foot or ten inches between the lead and the hook, but be sure the lead be heavy enough to sink the float or quil under water, and not the quil to bear up the Lead. Note, that your link next the hook may be smaller than the rest of your line, if you dare adventure for fear of taking the Pike or Pearch, who will assuredly visit your hooks, till they be taken out (as I will shew you afterwards) before either Carp or Bream will come near to bite. Note also, that when the worm is well baited, it will crawl up and down, as far as the Lead will give leave, which much inticeth the Fish to bite without suspicion.
- 3. Having thus prepared your baits, and fitted your tackling, repair to the River, where you have seen them to swim in skuls or shoals in the Summer time in a hot afternoon, about three or four of the clock, and watch their going forth of their deep holes and returning (which you may well discern) for they return about four of the clock most of them seeking food at the bottom, yet one or two will lie on the top of the water, rolling and tumbling themselves, whilst the rest are under him at the bottom, and so you shall perceive him to keep Sentinel: then mark where he playes most, and stayes longest, (which commonly is in the broadest and deepest place of the River) and there, or near thereabouts, at a clear bottom, and a convenient landing place, take one of your Angles ready fitted as

aforesaid, and sound the bottom, about eight or ten foot deep, two yards from the bank is the best. Then consider with your self, whether that water will rise or fall by the next morning by reason of any water-mills near, and according to your discretion take the depth of the place, where you mean after to cast your ground-bait, and to fish, to half an inch; that the Lead lying on or near the ground-bait, the top of the float may only appear upright half an inch above the water.

Thus you having found and fitted for the place and depth thereof, then go home and prepare your ground-bait, which is next to the fruit of your labours to be regarded.

The Ground-Bait.

You shall take a peck, or a peck and a half (according to the greatness of the stream, and deepness of the water, where you mean to angle) of sweet gross-ground barely-malt, and boil it in a kettle (one or two warms is enough) then strain it through a Bag into a tub (the liquor whereof hath often done my Horse much good) and when the bag and malt is near cold, take it down to the water-side about eight or nine of the clock in the evening, and not before; cast in two parts of your ground-bait, squeezed hard between both your hands, it will sink presently to the bottom, and be sure it may rest in the very place where you mean to angle; if the stream run hard or move a little, cast your malt in handfuls the higher upwards the stream. You may between your hands close the Malt so fast in handfuls, that the water will hardly part it with the fall.

Your ground thus baited, and tackling fitted, leave your bag with the test of your tackling, and ground-bait near the sporting-place all night, and in the morning about three or four of the clock visit the water-side (but not too near) for they have a Watch-man, and are watchful themselves.

Then gently take one of your three rods, and bait your hook, casting it over your ground bait, and gently and secretly draw it to you till the Lead rests about the middle of the ground bait.

Then take a second Rod and cast in about a yard above, and your third a yard below the first Rod, and stay the Rods in the ground,

but go your self so far from the water-side, that you perceive nothing but the top of the floats, which you must watch most diligently, then when you have a bite, you shall perceive the top of your float to sink suddenly into the water, yet nevertheless be not too hasty to run to your Rods, until you see that Line goes clear away; then ercep to the water-side, and give as much Line as possibly you can: if it be a Carp or Bream, they will go to the farther side of the River, then strike gently, and hold your Rod at a bent a little while; for if you both pull, you are sure to lose your Game, for either your line or hook, or hold will break; and after you have overcome them, they will make noble sport, and are very shie to be landed. The Carp is far stronger and mettlesome than the Bream.

Much more is to be observed in this kind of Fish and Fishing, but it is far fitter for experience and discourse than paper. Only thus much is necessary for you to know, and to be mindful and careful of. That if the Pike or Pearch do breed in that River, they will be sure to bite first, and must first be taken. And for the most part they are very large, and will repair to your ground-bair, not that they will eat of it, but will feed and sport themselves amongst the young Fir, that gather about and hover over the Bair.

The way to discern the Pike and to take him, if you mistrust your Bream-hook, (for I have taken a Pike a yard long several times at my Bream-hooks, and sometimes he hath had the luck to share my line.)

Take a small Bleak, or Roach, or Gudgion, and bait it, and set it alive among your Rods two foot deep from the Cotk, with a little red worm on the point of the hook, then take a few crums of White-bread, or some of the ground-bait, and sprinkle it gently amongst your Rods. If Mr. Pike be there, then the little Fish will skip out of the water, but the live-set Bait is sure to be taken.

Thus continue your sport from four in the morning till eight, and if it be a gloomy windy day, they will bite all day long. But this is too long to stand to your rods at one place, and it will spoil your evening sport that day, which is this,

About four of the clock in the Afternoon repair to your baited

place, and as soon as you come to the water side, east in one half of the rest of your ground-bait, and stand off: then whilst the Fish are gathering together, (for there they will most certainly come for their supper) you may take a pipe of Tobacco; and then in with your three rods as in the morning: You will find excellent sport that evening till eight of the clock; then cast in the residue of your ground-bait, and next morning by four of the clock visit them again for four hours, which is the best sport of all; and after that let them rest till you and your friends have a mind to more sport.

From St. James Tide until Bartholomew Tide is the best, when they have had all the Summers food, they are the fattest.

Observe lastly, That after three or four dayes fishing together, your Game will be very shie and wary; and you shall hardly get above a bite or two at a baiting: then your onely way is to desist from your sport about two or three dayes; and in the mean time (on the place you late baited, and again intend to bait) you shall take a turf of green, but short grass, as big or bigger than a round Trencher; to the top of this turf, on the green side, you shall with a Needle and green thred fasten one by one as many little red worms as will near cover all the turf; Then take a round board or Trencher, make a hole in the middle thereof, and through the turf placed on the board or Trencher, with a string or cord as long as is fitting, tied to a pole, let it down to the bottom of the water for the Fish to feed upon without disturbance about two or three dayes; and after that you have drawn it away, you may fall to, and enjoy your former recreation.

B. A.

CHAPTER XI

Observations of the Tench, and advice bow to angle for him.

P 1 s c. The Tenth, the Physician of Fishes, is observed to love Ponds better than Rivers, and to love pits better than either; yet Cambden observes there is a River in Dorset-shire that abounds with Tenches, but doubtless they retire to the most deep and quiet places in it.

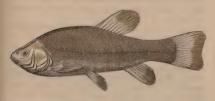
This fish hath very large Fins, very small and smooth Scales, a red circle about his Eyes, which are big and of a gold colour, and that from either Angle of his mouth there hangs down a little Barb; in every Tenches head there are two little stones, which forraign Physitians make great use of, but he is not commended for wholesome meat, though there be very much use made of them, for outward applications. Randeletius saves. That at his being at Rome, he saw a great cure done by applying a Tench to the feet of a very sick man. This he sayes was done after an unusual manner by certain Jews. And it is observed, that many of those people have many secrets, yet unknown to Christians; secrets that have never yet been written, but have been since the dayes of their Solomon, (who knew the nature of all things, even from the Cedar to the Shrub) delivered by tradition from the Father to the Son, and so from generation to generation without writing, or (unlesse it were casually) without the least communicating them to any other Nation or Tribe: for to do that they account a profanation. And yet it is thought that they, or some Spirit worse than they, first told us, that Lice swallowed alive were a certain cure for the Yellow-Jaundice. This and other medicines were discover'd by them or by revelation, for doubtless we attain'd them not by study.

Well, this fish, besides his eating, is very usefull both dead and alive for the good of mankind. But, I will meddle no more with that; my honest humble Art teaches no such boldnesse; there are too many foolish medlers in Physick and Divinity, that think themselves fit to meddle with hidden secrets, and so bring destruction to their followers. Ple not meddle with them farther than to wish them wiser; and shall tell you next, (for, I hope, I may be so bold) that the Tench is the Physitian of fishes, to the Pike especially, and that the Pike, being either sick or hurt, is cured by the touch of the Tench. And it is observed, that the Tyrant Pike will not be a Wolf to his Physitian, but forbears to devour him though he be never so hungry.

This fish that carries a natural Balsome in him to cure both himself and others, loves yet to feed in very foul water, and amongst weeds. And yet I am sure he eats pleasantly, and, doubtlesse, you will think

so to if you taste him. And I shall therefore proceed to give you some few, and but a few directions how to catch this Tench, of which I have given you these observations.

He will bite at a Paste made of brown bread and honey, or at a Marsh-worm, or a Lob-worm, he inclines very much to any paste with which Tar is mixt, and he will bite also at a smaller worm, with his head nipp'd off, and a Cod-worm put on the hook before that worm; and I doubt not but that he will also in the three hot



months (for in the nine colder he stirs not much) bite at a Flagworm, or at a green Gentle, but can positively say no more of the Tench, he being a Fish that I have not often Angled for; but I wish my honest Scholar may, and be ever fortunate when he fishes.

CHAPTER XII

Observations of the Pearch, and directions how to fish for him.

P 1 S C. The Peerch is a very good, and a very bold biting fish;
He is one of the Fishes of prey, that like the Pike and Trout,
carties his teeth in his mouth which is very large, and he dare
venture to kill and devour several other kinds of fish: he has a
hook't or hog back, which is armed with sharp and stiffe bristles,
and all his skin armed or covered over with thick, dry, hard

scales, and hath (which few other Fish have) two Fins on his back. He is so bold, that he will invade one of his own kind, which the Pike will not do willingly, and you may therefore easily believe him to be a bold biter.

The Pearch is of great esteem in Italy saith Aldrovandus, and especially the least are there esteemed a daintie dish. And Gesser prefers the Pearch and Pike above the Trout, or any fresh-water-Fish: he sayes the Gessens have this Proveth, More wholsom than a Pearch of Rhine: and he sayes the River-Pearch is so wholsome, that Physicians allow him to be eaten by wounded men or men in Feavers, or to Women in Child-bed.

He spawns but once a year, and is by Physicians held very nutritive; yet by many to be hard of digestion: They abound more in the River Poe and in England (sayes Randeletius) then other parts, and have in their brain a stone, which is in forraign parts sold by Apothe-caries, being there noted to be very medicinable against the stone in the reins: These be a part of the commendations which some Phylosophical brains have bestowed upon the fresh-water Pearles yet they commend the Sea-Pearch, which is known by having but one fin on his back, (of which they say, we English see but a few) to be a much better fish.

The Peareth grows slowly, yet will grow, as I have been credibly informed, to be almost two foot long; for my informer told me, such a one was not long since taken by Sir Abraham Williams, a Gentleman of worth, and a lover of Angling, that yet lives, and I wish he may: this was a deep bodied Fish: and doubtless durst have devoured a Pike of half his own length: for I have told you, he is a bold Fish, such a one as but for extreme hunger, the Pike will not devour; for to affright the Pike and save himself, the Pearch will set up his fins, much like as a Turkie-Cock will sometimes set up his tail.

But, my Scholar, the Pearch is not only valiant to defend himself, but he is (as I said) a bold biting fish, yet he will not bite at all seasons of the year; he is very abstemious in Winter, yet will bite then in the midst of the day if it be warm: and note that all Fish bite best about the midst of a warm day in Winter, and he hath

been observed by some, not usually to bite till the Mulberry-tree buds, that is to say, till extreme frosts be past that Spring; for when the Mulberry-tree blossomes, many Gardners observe their forward fruit to be past the danger of Frosts, and some have made the like observation of the Pearches biting.

But bite the Pearch will, and that very boldly: and as one has wittly observed, if there be twenty or forty in a hole, they may be at one standing all catch'd one after another; they being, as he saies, like the wicked of the world, not afraid though their fellowes and companions perish in their sight. And you may observe, that they



are not like the solitary Pike, but love to accompany one another, and march together in troops.

And the baits for this bold Fish are not many; I mean, he will bite as well at some, or at any of these three, as at any or all others whatsoever: a Worm, a Minnow, or a little Frog (of which you may find many in hay-time.) and of worms, the Dunghil-worni called a Brandling, I take to be best, being well scowred in Moss or Fennel; or at a worm that lies under a cow-turd with a blewish head. And if you rove for a Pearch with a Minnow, then it is best to be alive: you sticking your hook through his back-fin, or a Minnow with the hook in his upper lip, and letting him swim up and down about mild-water, or a little lower, and you still keeping him to about that depth, by a Cork, which ought not to be a very little one: and the

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like way you are to Fish for the Pearch, with a small frog, your hook being fastned through the skin of his leg, towards the upper part of it: And lastly, I will give you but this advice, that you give the Pearch time enough when he bites, for there was scarce ever any Angler that has given him too much. And now I think best to rest my self, for I have almost spent my spirits with talking so long.

rest my self, for I have almost spent my spirits with talking so long. $v \in v$ A. Nay, good Master, one fish more, for you see it rains still, and you know our Angles are like mony put to usurie; they may thrive, though we sit still and do nothing, but talk and enjoy one another. Come, come the other fish, good Master.

PISC. But Scholar, have you nothing to mixe with this discourse, which now grows both tedious and tiresome? shall I have nothing from you that seems to have both a good memorie, and a chearful Spirit?

VENA. Yes, Master, I will speak you a Copy of Verses that were made by Doctor Domme, and made to shew the world that he could make soft and smooth Verses when he thought smoothness worth his labour; and I love them the better, because they allude to Rivers, and fish and fishing. They be these:

Come live with me, and he my Love, And we will some new pleasures prove, Of golden sands, and Christal brooks, With silken lines, and silver hooks.

There will the River whispering run, Warm'd by thy eyes more than the Sun; And there th' inamel'd fish will stay, Begging themselves they may betray.

When thou wilt swim in that live bath, Each fish, which every channel hath, Most amorously to thee will swim, Gladder to cotch thee, then thou him.

If thou, to be so seen, beest loath By Sun or Moon, thou darknest both,

And if mine eyes have leave to see, I need not their light, having thee.

Let others freeze with Angling reeds, And cutt their legs with shels and weeds, Or treacherously poor fish beset With strangling snares or windowy net.

Let course bold bands, from slimy nest, The bedded fish in banks outwrest, Let curious Traytors sleave silk flies, To 'witch poor wandring fishes eyes.

For thee, thou needs no such deceit, For thou thy self art thine own bait: That fish that is not catcht thereby, Is wiser far, alas, than I.

PISC. Well remembred, honest Scholar, I thank you for these choice Verses, which I have heard formerly, but had quite forgot, till they were recovered by your happy memorie. Well, being I have now rested my self-a little, I will make you some requital, by telling you some observations of the Eele, for it rains still, and because (as you say) our Angles are as money put to Use, that thrive when we play, therefore well sit still and injoy our selves a little longer under this boney suckle-bedg.

CHAPTER XIII

Observations of the Eele, and other fish that want scales, and bow to fish for them.

Pass C. It is agreed by most men, that the Eele is a most daintie fish; the Romans have esteemed her the Hellena of their feasts, and some The Queen of pleasure. But most men differ about their breeding: some say they breed by generation as other fish do, and others, that they breed (as some wormes do) of mud, as Rats and Mice, and many other living creatures are bred in Egypt, by the

overflowing of the River Nilus: or out of the putrifaction of the earth, and divers other wayes. Those that deny them to breed by generation as other fish do, ask, if any man ever saw an Eele to have a Spawn or Melt? and they are answered, that they may be as certain of their breeding as if they had seen Spawn: for they say, that they are certain that Eeles have all parts fit for generation, like other fish, but so small as not to be easily discerned, by reason of their fatness; but that discerned they may be, and that the He and the She Eele may be distinguished by their fins. And Randeletius saies, he has seen Eeles cling together like Dew-worms.

And others say, that Eeles growing old, breed other Eeles out of the corruption of their own age, which Sir Francis Bacon sayes, exceeds not ten years. And others say, that as Pearles are made of glutinous dew-drops, which are condensed by the Suns heat in those Countries, so Eeles are bred of a particular dew falling in the moneths of May or June on the banks of some particular Ponds or Rivers (apted by nature for that end) which in a few dayes is by the Suns heat turned into Eeles, and some of the Ancients have called the Eels that are thus bred, The Off-spring of Jove. I have seen in the beginning of July, in a River not far from Canterbury, some parts of it covered over with young Eeles, about the thickness of a straw; and these Eeles, did lie on the top of that water, as thick as motes are said to be in the Sun; and I have heard the like of other Rivers as namely in Severn, (where they are called Yelvers) and in a pond or mere near unto Stafford shire, where about a set time in Summer, such small Eeles abound so much, that many of the poorer sort of people that inhabit near to it, take such Eeles out of this Mere, with sieves or sheets, and make a kind of Eele-cake of them, and eat it like as bread. And Gesner quotes venerable Bede to say, that in England there is an Iland called Ely, by reason of the innumerable number of Eeles that breed in it. But that Eeles may be bred as some worms, and some kind of Bees and Wasps are, either of dew, or out of the corruption of the earth, seems to be made probable by the Barnacles and young Goslings bred by the Suns heat, and the rotten planks of an old Ship, and hatched of trees; both

which are related for truths by Dubartas and Lobel, and also by our learned Cambden, and laborious Gerrard in his Herbal.

It is said by Randeletius, that those Eeles that are bred in Rivers that relate to, or be nearer to the Sea, never return to the fresh waters (as the Salmon does alwayes desire to do) when they have once tasted the salt water; and I do the more easily believe this, because I am certain that powdered Beef is a most excellent bait to eatch an Eeles and though Sir Francis Bacon will allow the Eeles life to be but ten years; yet he in his History of life and Death, mentions a Lamprey belonging to the Roman Emperour to be made tame, and so kept for almost threescore years and that such useful and pleasant observations were made of this Lamprey, that Crassus the Orator (who kept her) lamented her death. And we read (in Doctor Hackwel) that Hortenius was seen to weep at the death of a Lamprey that he had kept long, and loved exceedingly.

It is granted by all, or most men, that Eeles, for about six moneths (that is to say, the six cold moneths of the year) stir not up and down, neither in the Rivers nor in the Pools in which they usually are, but get into the soft earth or mud, and there many of them together bed themselves, and live without feeding upon anything (as I have told you some Swallowes have been observed to do in hollow-trees for those six cold moneths:) and this the Eele and Swallow do, as not being able to endure winter weather: For Gesner quotes Albertus to say, that in the year 1125 (that years winter being more cold then usually) Eeles did by nature's instinct get out of the water into a stack of hay in a Meadow upon drie ground, and there bedded themselves, but yet at last a frost kil'd them. And our Cambden relates, that in Lancashire Fishes are dig'd out of the earth with Spades, where no water is near to the place. I shall say little more of the Eele, but that, as it is observed he is impatient of cold; so it hath been observed, that in warm weather an Eele has been known to live five dayes out of the water.

And lastly, let me tell you that some curious searchers into the natures of Fish, observe that there be several sorts or kinds of Eeles, as the silver Eele, and green or greenish Eele, (with which the River

tie bim with Tope or Pack-thred to a spit, and rost bim leasurely, and baste bim with water and salt till bis skin breeks, and then with Butter: and having rosted bim enough, let what was put into bis belly, and what he drips be bis sawce.

But now let me tell you, that though the Eele thus drest be not onely excellent good, but more harmless than any other way, yet it is certain, that Physicians account the Eele dangerous meat; I will advise you therefore, as Solomon sayes of Hony, Prov. 25. Hast thou found it, cat no more then is sufficient, lest thou surfeit, for it is not good to eat much boney. And let me add this that the uncharitable Italian bids us, Give Eels, and no wine to our enemies.

And I will beg a little more of your attention to tell you that Aldrovandus and divers Physitians commend the Eele very much for medicine though not for meat. But let me tell you one observation, That the Eele is never out of season, as Trouts and most other fish are at set times, at least most Eeles are not.

I might here speak of many other Fish whose shape and nature are much like the Eele and frequent both the Sea and fresh Rivers; as namely the Lamprel, the Lamprel, and the Lamprene; as also of the mighty Congre, taken often in Severne, about Glocester, and in what high esteem many of them are for the curiositie of their taste; but these are not so proper to be talk'd of by me, because they make us Anglers no sport, therefore I will let them alone as the Jewes do, to whom they are forbidden by their Law.

And Scholar, there is also a Flounder, a Sea-fish, which will wander very far into fresh Rivers, and there lose himself, and dwell and thrive to a hands breadth, and almost twice so long, a Fish without scales, and most excellent meat, and a Fish that affords much sport to the Angler, with any small worm, but especially a little blewish worm, gotten out of Marsh ground or Meadowes, which should be well scowred, but this though it be most excellent meat, yet it wants scales, and is as I told you therefore an abomination to the Jewes.

But Scholar, there is a fish that they in Lancashire boast very much of, called a Char, taken there, (and I think there only,) in a Mere

called, Winander Mere; a Mere, sayes Cambden, that is the largest in this Nation, being ten miles in length, and as smooth in the bottom as if it were paved with pollisht marble: this fish never exceeds fifteen or sixteen inches in length; and 'tis spotted like a Tront, and has scarce a bone but on the back: but this, though I do not know whether it make the Angler sport, yet I would have you take notice of it, because it is a raritie, and of so high esteem with persons of great note.

Nor would I have you ignorant of a rare fish called a Guiniad, of which I shall tell you what Cambden, and others speak. The River Dee (which runs by Cbester,) springs in Meriomithshire, and as it runs toward Chester, it runs through Pemble-Mere, which is a large water. And it is observed, that though the River Dee abounds with Salmon, and Pemble-Mere with the Guiniad, yet there is never any Salmon caught in the Mere, nor a Guiniad in the River. And now my next observation shall be of the Barbel.

CHAPTER XIV

Observations of the Barbel, and directions how to fish for him.

P 1 S C. The Barbel is so called (saies Gener) by reason of his Barb or Wattels at his mouth, which are under his nose or chaps. He is one of those leather-mouthed Fish that I told you of, that very seldom break his hold if he be once hook'd: but he will often break both rod and line if he proves to be a big one.

But the Barbel, though he be of a fine shape, and looks big, yet he is not accounted the best fish to eat, neither for his wholsomness nor his taster. But the Male is reputed much better than the Female, whose Spawn is very hurful, as I will presently declare to you.

They flock together like sheep, and are at worst in April, about which time they Spawn, but quickly grow to be in season. He is able to live in the strongest swifts of the Water, and in Summer loves the shallowest and sharpest streams; and loves to lurk under weeds, and to feed on gravel against a rising ground, and will root

and dig in the sands with his nose like a hog, and there nests himselfityet sometimes he retires to deep and swift Bridges, or Floud-gates, or Weires, where he will nest himself amongst piles, or in hollow places, and take such hold of mosse or weeds, that be the water never so swift, it is not able to force him from the place that he contends for. This is his constant custom in Summer, when he and most living creatures sport themselves in the Sun, but at the approach of Winter, then he forsakes the swift streams and shallow waters, and by degrees retires to those parts of the River that are quiet and deeper; in which places (and I think about that time) he Spawnes, and as I have formerly told you, with the help of the Melter, hides



his Spawn or eggs in holes, which they both dig in the gravel, and then they mutually labour to cover it with the same sand, to prevent it from being devoured by other fish.

There be such store of this fish in the River Danubie, that Randeletius sayes, they may in some places of it, and in some moneths of the year, be taken by those that dwell near to the River, with their hands, eight or ten load at a time; he sayes, they begin to be good in May, and that they cease to be so in August, but it is found to be otherwise in this Nation: but thus far we agree with him, that the Spawn of a Barbel, if it be not poison as he sayes, yet that it is dangerous meat, and especially in the moneth of May; which is so certain that Gesner and Gasius declare, it had an ill effect upon them even to the indanger-

This fish is of a fine cast and handsome shape, small scales, and plac'd after a most exact and curious manner, and, as I told you, may be rather said not to be ill, then to be good meat; the Chub and he have (I think) both lost a part of their credit by ill cookery, they being reputed the worst or coursest of fresh-water-fish: but the Barbel affords an Angler choice sport, being a lusty and a cunning Fish; so lusty and cunning as to endanger the breaking of the Anglers line, by running his head forcibly towards any covert, or hole, or bank: and then striking at the line, to break it off with his tail (as is observed by Plutarch, in his Book De industria animalium) and also so cunning to nibble and suck off your worm close to the hook, and yet avoid the letting the hook come into his mouth.

The Barbel is also curious for his baits, that is to say, that they be clean and sweet; that is to say, to have your worms well scowred, and not kept in sowre and musty moss, for he is a curious feeder: for at a well-scowred Lob-worm, he will bite as boldly as at any bait, and specially, if the night or two before you fish for him, you shall bait the places where you intend to fish for him with big worms cut into pieces: and note, that none did ever over-bait the place, nor fish too early or too late for a Barbel. And the Barbel will bite also at Gentles, which (not being too much scowred, but green) are a choice bait for him: and so is cheese, which is not to be too hard, but kept a day or two in a wet linnen cloth to make it tough: with this you may also bait the water a day or two before you fish for the Barbel, and be much the likelier to catch store; and if the cheese were laid in clarified honey a short time before (as namely, an hour or two) you were still the likelier to catch Fish: some have directed to cut the cheese into thin pieces, and toast it, and then tie it on the hook with fine silk: and some advise to fish for the Barbel with Sheeps tallow and soft cheese beaten or work'd into a Paste, and that it is choicely good in August, and I believe it: but doubtlesse the Lob-worm well scowred, and the Gentle not too much scowred. and cheese ordered as I have directed, are baits enough, and I think will serve in any moneth: though I shall commend any Angler that tries conclusions, and is industrious to improve the Art. And now,

Pearch for his shape, and taken to be better than the Pearch, but it will not grow to be bigger than a Gudgion; he is an excellent Fish; no Fish that swims is of a pleasanter taste, and he is also excellent to enter a young Angler, for he is a greedy biter, and they will usually lie abundance of them together in one reserved place where the water is deep, and runs quietly, and an easie Angler, if he has found where they lie, may catch forty or fifty, or sometimes twice so many at a standing.

You must Fish for him with a small red-worm, and if you bait the ground with earth it is excellent.

There is also a Bleak, or fresh-water-Sprat, a Fish that is ever in motion, and therefore called by some the River-Swallow; for just as you shall observe the Swallow to be most evenings in Summer ever in motion, making short and quick turnes when he flies to catch Flies in the aire, (by which he lives,) so does the Bleak at the top of the water. Ausonius would have him called Bleak from his whitish colour: his back is of a pleasant sad or Sea-water-green, his belly white and shining as the Mountain snow; and doubtless though he have the fortune (which vertue has in poor people,) to be neglected, yet the Bleak ought to be much valued, though we want Allamot salt, and the skill that the Itelians have to turn them into Anchovis. This fish may be caught with a Pater-moster line, that is, six or eight very small hooks tyed along the line one half foot above the other: I have seen five caught thus at one time, and the bait has been Gentles, then which none is better.

Or this Fish may be caught with a fine small artificial flie, which is to be of a very sad brown colour, and very small, and the hook answerable. There is no better sport than whipping for Bleaks in a boat or on a banck, in the swift water in a Summers evening, with a Hazle top about five or six foot long, and a line twice the length of the Rod, I have heard Sir Henry Wotton say, that there be many that in Italy will catch Swallows so, or especially Martins, (the Birdangler standing on the top of a Steeple to do it, and with a line twice so long as I have spoken of:) And let me tell you, Scholar, that both Martins and Bleaks be most excellent meat.

And let me tell you, that I have known a Hern that did constantly frequent one place, caught with a hook baited with a big Minnow or a small Gudgion. The line and hook must be strong, and tied to some loose staff so big as she cannot flie away with it, a line not exceeding two Yards.

CHAPTER XVI

Is of nothing, or that which is nothing worth.

May purpose was to give you some direction concerning Roach And Date, and some other inferiour Fish, which make the Angler excellent sport; for you know there is more pleasure in hunting the Hare than in eating her: but I will forbear at this time to say any more, because you see yonder comes our brother Peter and honest Coridon: but I will promise you that as you and I fish and walk to morrow towards London, if I have now forgotten any thing that I can then remember, I will not keep it from you.

Well met, Gentlemen, this is lucky that we meet so just together at this very door. Come Hostess, where are you? is Supper ready? come, first give us drink, and be as quick as you can, for I believe we are all very hungry. Well, brother Peter and Coridon, to you both; come drink, and tell me what luck of fish: we two have caught but ten Trouts, of which my Scholar caught three; look here's eight, and a brace we gave away: we have had a most pleasant day for fishing and talking, and are returned home both weary and hungry, and now meat and rest will be pleasant.

PET. And Coridon and I have not had an unpleasant day, and yet I have caught but five Trouts: for indeed we went to a good honest Ale-house, and there we plaid at Shovel-board half the day; all the time that it rained we were there, and as merry as they that fished, and I am glad we are now with a dry house over our heads, for hark how it rains and blows. Come Hostess, give us more Ale, and our supper with what haste you may; and when we have sup'd,

let us have your Song, Piscator, and the Ketch that your Scholar promised us, or else Coridon will be dogged.

PISC. Nay, I will not be worse than my word, you shall not want my Song, and I hope I shall be perfect in it.

VENA. And I hope the like for my Ketch, which I have ready too, and therefore lets go metrily to supper, and then have a gentle touch at singing and drinking: but the last with moderation.

C O R. Come, now for your Song, for we have fed heartily. Come Hostess, lay a few more sticks on the fire, and now sing when you will.

PISC. Well then, here's to you Coridon, and now for my Song.

Ob the gallant Fishers life,
It is the best of any,
'Tis full of pleasure, void of strife,
And 'tis belov'd of many:
Other joyes
are but toyes,
only this
lawful is,
for our skill
but content and pleasure.

In a morning up we rise,
Ere Autora's peeping,
Drink a cup to wash our eyes,
Leave the sluggard sleeping:

Leave the sluggard sleeping
Then we go
to and fro,
with our knacks
at our backs,
to such streams
as the Thames,
if we bave the leasure,

When we pleas to walk abroad For our recreation. In the fields is our abode.

Full of delectation.

Where in a brook with a hook. or a Lake.

fish we take: there we sit.

for a bit. till we fish intanole.

We have Gentles in a born. We have paste and worms too, We can watch both night and morn,

Suffer rain and storms too;

None do here

use to swear.

oaths do fray fish away.

we sit still.

and watch our quill;

Fishers must not rangle.

If the Suns excessive heat Make our bodies swelter. To an Osier bedge we get For a friendly shelter, Where in a dike Pearch or Pike.

Roach or Dace we do chase.

Bleak or Gudgion without grudging,

we are still contented.

Or we sometimes pass an bour Under a green Willow, That defends we from a showre, Making earth our pillow, There we may think and pray before death stops our breath: other joyes are but toyes, and to he humented

Jo. Chalkhill.

VENA. Well sung, Master, this dayes fortune and pleasure, and this nights company and song, do all make me more and more in love with angling. Gentlemen, my Master left me alone for an hour this day, and I verily believe he retired himself from talking with me, that he might be so perfect in this song; was it not Master?

PISC. Yes indeed, for it is many Years since I learn'd it, and having forgotten a part of it, I was forced to patch it up by the help of mine own Invention, who am not excellent at Poetrie, as my part of the song may testifier But of that I will say no more, lest you should think I mean by discommending it to beg your commendations of it. And therefore without replications lets hear your Ketch, Scholar, which I hope will be a good one, for you are both Musical, and have a good fancie to boot.

VENA. Marry and that you shall, and as freely as I would have my honest Master tell me some more secrets of fish and Fishing as we walk and fish towards London to morrow. But Master, first let me tell you, that, that very hour which you were absent from me, I sate down under a Willow-tree by the water side, and considered what you had told me of the Owner of that pleasant Meadow in which you then left me; that he had a plentiful estate, and not a heart to think so; that he had at this time many Law-suits depending; and that they both damp'd his mirth, and took up so much of his time

and thoughts, that he himself had not leisure to take the sweet content that I (who pretended no title to them,) took in his fields; for I could there sit quietly, and looking on the water, see some Fishes sport themselves in the silver streams, others leaping at Flyes of several shapes and colours; looking on the Hills, could behold them spotted with Woods and Groves; looking down the Meadows, could see here a Boy gathering Lillies and Lady-smocks, and there a Girl cropping Culverkeyes and Coweslips, all to make Garlands suitable to this present Moneth of May: these and many other Fieldflowers, so perfumed the Air, that I thought that very Meadow like the Field in Sicily (of which Diodorus speaks) where the perfumes arising from the place, make all dogs that hunt in it, to fall off, and to lose their hottest sent. I say, as I thus sate joying in my own happy condition, and pitying this poor rich man, that owned this, and many other pleasant Groves and Meadows about me, I did thankfully remember what my Saviour said, that the meek possess the earth; or rather, they injoy what the other possess and injoy not; for Anglers and meek quiet-spirited men, are free from those high, those restless thoughts which corrode the sweets of life; and they, and they onely can say as the Poet has happily exprest it:

Hail blest estate of lowliness!

Happy enjoyments of such minds,
As rich in self-contentenesse,
Can, like the reeds in roughest winds
By yielding make that blow but small
At which proud Oaks and Cedars fall.

There came also into my mind at that time, certain Verses in praise of a mean estate, and an humble mind, they were written by Phineas Fletcher: an excellent Divine, and an excellent Angler, and the Author of excellent Piscatory Eglogues, in which you shall see the picture of his good mans mind.

No empty hopes, no Courtly fears him fright, No begging wants, his middle fortune hite, But sweet content exiles both misery and spite.

His certain life, that never can deceive him,
Is full of thousand sweets, and rich content:
The smooth-leav'd Beeches in the field receive him,
With coolest shade, till monoridies heat be spent:
His life is neither tost in hoisterous Scas,
Or the wexations world, or lost in slothful ease;
Pleav'd and ful blest he lives, when he his God can please.

His bed more safe than soft, yields quiet sleeps,
While by his side his faithful Spouse has place,
His little son into his bosom creeps,
The lively picture of his fathers face.
His humble bours, or poor state ne're torment him,
Less be could like, if less his God had lent him,
And when he dies, ereen turfs do for a tomb content him.

Gentlemen, these were a part of the thoughts that then possest me, and I there made a conversion of a piece of an old Ketch, and added more to it, fitting them to be sung by us Anglers: come Master, you can sing well, you must sing a part of it as it is in this paper.

The ANGLERS Song

For two voices: Trebble and Basse. Set by Mr. Henry Lawes. CANTUS. hodge podge of busi ness care, and care, and mo ney, and trou ble.

J 19 J 1 J 1 1 1000



PET. I marry Sir, this is Musick indeed, this has cheer'd my heart, and made me to remember six Verses in praise of Musick, which I will speak to you instantly.

Musick miraculous Rhetorich, that speak'st sense Without a tongue, excelling eloquence; With what case might thy errors be excus'd Wert thou as truly lov'd as th' art abus'd? But though dull souls neglect, and some reprove thee, I cannot hate thee, 'cause the Angels love thee.

P I S C. Well remembred brother Peter, these Verses came seasonably. Come, we will all joyn together, mine Hoste and all, and sing my Scholars Ketch over again, and then each man drink the tother cup and to bed, and thank God we have a dry house over our heads.

PISC. Well now, good night to every body.

PET. And so say I.

VENA. And so say I.

C O R. Good night to you all, and I thank you.

PISC. Good morrow brother Peter, and the like to you honest Coridon: come, my Hostesse sayes there is seven shillings to pay, let's each man drink a portfor his mornings draught, and lay down his two shillings, that so my Hostesse may not have occasion to repent her self of being so diligent, and using us so kindly.

PET. The motion is liked by every body, and so Hostesse, here's your money: we Anglers are all beholding to you, it will not be long e're I'll see you again. And now, brother Piscator, I wish you and my brother your Scholar a fair day, and good fortune. Come Caridon, this is our way.

CHAPTER XVII

Of Roach and Dace, and how to fish for them. And of Cadis.

V E N A. Good Master, as we go now towards London, be still so courteous as to give me more instructions, for I have several boxes in my memory in which I will keep them all very safe, there shall not one of them be lost.

PISC. Well Scholar, that I will, and I will hide nothing from you that I can remember, and may help you forward towards a perfection in this Art, and because we have so much time, and I have said so little of Roach and Dace, I will give you some directions concerning them.

Some say the Roseb is so called from Rutilus, which they say, signifies red fins: He is a Fish of no great reputation for his dainty taste, and his Spawn is accounted much better than any other part of him. And you may take notice, that as the Carp is accounted the Water-fox, for his cunning, so the Roseb is accounted the Water-steep for his simplicity or foolishness. It is noted that the Roseb and Date recover strength, and grow in season in a fortnight after spawning, the Barbel and Chub in a moneth, the Trout in four moneths, and the Salmon in the like time, if he gets into the Sea, and after into fresh-water.

Rosebes be accounted much better in the River than in a Pond, though ponds usually breed the biggest. But there is a kind of bastard small Roseb that breeds in ponds with a very forked tail, and of a very small size, which some say is bred by the Bream and right Roseb, and some Ponds are stored with these beyond belief; and knowing-men know their difference and call them Ruds: they differ from the true Roseb as much as a Herring from a Pilchard, and these bastard breed of Roseb are now scattered in many Rivers, but I think not in Thomes, which I believe affords the largest and fattest in this Nation, especially below London-Bridge: the Roseb is a leather-mouth'd Fish, and has a kind of saw-like teeth in his throat.

And lastly let me tell you, the Roach makes an Angler excellent sport, especially the great Roaches about London, where I think there be the best Roach-Anglers, and I think that the best Trout-Anglers be in Derby-shire.

Next, let me tell you, you shall fish for this Roach in Winter with Paste or Gentles, in April with worms or Cadis; in the very hot moneths with little white snails, or with flies under-water, for he seldom takes them at the top, though the Dace will. In many of the hot moneths, Roaches may also be caught thus: Take a May-fly or Ant-fly, sink him with a little lead to the bottom near to the piles or posts of a Bridge, or near to any posts of a Weire, I mean any deep place where Roaches lie quietly, and then pull your flie up very leisurely, and usually a Roach will follow your bait to the very top of the water and gaze on it there, and run at it and take it lest the flie should flie away from him.

I have seen this done at Windsor and Henly-Bridg, and great store of Roach taken, and sometimes a Dace or Chub; and in August you may fish for them with a Paste made onely of the crumbs of bread, which should be of pure fine Manchet; and that must be so tempered betwixt your hands till it be both soft and tough too; a very little water, and time and labour, and clean hands will make it a most excellent paste: But when you fish with it, you must have a small hook, a quick eye, and a nimble hand, or the bait is lost and the fish too (if one may lose that, which he never had); with this paste, you may, as I said, take both the Roach and the Dace or Dare, for they be much of a kind, in matter of feeding, cunning, goodness, and usually in size. And therefore take this general direction for some other baits which may concern you to take notice of. They will bite almost at any flie, but especially at Ant-flies; concerning which, take this direction, for it is very good.

Take the blackish Ant-flie out of the Mole-hill or Ant-hill, in which place you shall find them in the month of June, or if that be too early in the year, then doubtlesse you may find them in July, August, and most of September, gather them alive with both their wings, and then put them into a glasse that will hold a quart or a

pottle; but first put into the glasse a handful or more of the moist earth, out of which you gather them, and as much of the roots of the grass of the said hillock, and then put in the flies gently, that they lose not their wings, lay a clod of earth over it, and then so many as are put into the glasse without bruising, will live there a moneth or more, and be alwayes in a readinesse for you to Fish with; but if you would have them keep longer, then get any great earthen pot, or barrel of three or four gallons (which is better) then wash your barrel with water and honey; and having put into it a quantity of earth and grasse roots, then put in your flies, and cover it, and they will live a quarter of a year; these in any stream and clear water, are a deadly bait for Roach or Dace, or for a Chub, and your rule is, to Fish not lesse than a handful from the bottom.

I shall next tell you a winter bait for a Roach, a Dace or Chub, and it is choicely good. About All-hollantide (and so till Frost comes) when you see men ploughing up heath-ground, or sandy ground, or greenswards, then follow the plough, and you shall find a white worm as big as two Magots, and it hath a red head, (you may observe in what ground most are, for there the Crowes will be very watchful, and follow the Plough very close) it is all soft, and full of whitish guts; a worm that is in Norfolk, and some other Countries called a Grub, and is bred of the Spawn or Eggs of a Beetle, which she leaves in holes that she digs in the ground under Cow or Horsedung, and there rests all Winter, and in March or April comes to be first a red, and then a black Beetle: gather a thousand or two of these, and put them with a peck or two of their own earth into some tub or firkin, and cover and keep them so warm, that the frost or cold air, or winds kill them not, and you may keep them all winter, and kill fish with them at any time: and if you put some of them into a little earth and honey a day before you use them, you will find them an excellent bait for Bream or Carv.

And after this manner you may also keep Gentles all winter, which is a good bait then, and much the better for being lively and tough: or you may breed and keep Gentles thus: Take a piece of Beasts liver, and with a cross stick, hang it in some corner over a pot or

barrel half full of dry clay, and as the Gentles grow big, they will fall into the barrel and scowre themselves, and be alwayes ready for use whensover you incline to Fish; and these gentles may be thus made till after Michaelmas. But if you desire to keep Gentles to Fish with all the year, then get a dead Cat or a Kite and let it be fly-blown, and when the Gentles begin to be alive and to stir, then bury it and them in moist earth, but as free from frost as you can, and these you may dig up at any time when you intend to use them, these will last till March, and about that time turn to be Flies.

But if you be nice to foul your Fingers, (which good Anglers seldom are) then take this Bait: Get a handful of well-made Mault. and put it into a dish of water, and then wash and rub it betwixt your hands till you make it clean, and as free from husks as you can; then put that water from it, and put a small quantitie of fresh water to it, and set it in something that is fit for that purpose over the Fire, where it is not to boil apace, but leasurely and very softly, until it become somewhat soft, which you may try by feeling it betwixt your Finger and Thumb, and when it is soft, then put your water from it, and then take a sharp Knife, and turning the sprout end of the Corn upward, with the point of your Knife take the back part of the husk off from it, and yet leaving a kind of inward husk on the Corn, or else it is marr'd, and then cut off that sprouted end, (I mean a little of it) that the white may appear, and so pull off the husk on the cloven side (as I directed you) and then cutting off a very little of the other end, that so your hook may enter, and if your hook be small and good, you will find this to be a very choice Bait either for Winter or Summer, you sometimes casting a little of it into the place where your float swims.

And to take the Roach and Dace, a good Bait is the young brood of Wasps or Bees, if you dip their heads in blood; especially good for Bram, if they be baked or hardned in their husks in an Oven, after the bread is taken out of it, or on a Fire-shovel; and so also is the thick blood of Sheep, being half dried on a Trencher, that you may cut it into such pieces as may best fit the size of your hook, and

a little salt keeps it from growing black, and makes it not the worse but better: This is taken to be a choice Bait if rightly ordered.

There be several Oiles of a strong smell that I have been told of. and to be excellent to tempt Fish to bite, of which I could say much. but I remember I once carried a small Bottle from Sir George Hastings to Sir Henry Wotton, (they were both chimical men) as a great Present; it was sent, and receiv'd, and us'd with great confidence; and yet upon inquiry I found it did not answer the expectation of Sir Henry, which with the help of this and other circumstances, makes me have little belief in such things as many men talk of: not but that I think Fishes both smell and hear, (as I have exprest in my former discourse) but there is a mysterious Knack, which (though it be much easier than the Philosophers Stone, yet) is not attainable by common capacities, or else lies locked up in the brain or breast of some chimical man, that like the Rosiccrutians, will not yet reveal it. But I stepped by chance into this discourse of Oiles and Fishes smelling, and though there might be more said, both of it and of Baits for Roach and Dace, and other float Fish, yet I will forbear it at this time, and tell you in the next place how you are to prepare your Tackling: concerning which I will for sport sake give you an old Rhime out of an old Fish-book, which will be a part of what you are to provide.

> My Rod and my Line, my Float and my Lead, My Hook and my Plummet, my whetstone and knife, My Basket, my Baits both living and dead, My Net and my Meat, for that is the chief: Then I must have Thred, and Hairs green and small, With mine Angline purse, and so you have all.

But you must have all these Tackling, and twice so many more, with which if you mean to be a Fisher, you must store your self, and to that purpose I will go with you either to Charles Brandons

¹ I have heard, that the tackling hath been prized at fifty pounds in the Inventorie of an Angler.

(near to the Swan in Golding-lane;) or to Mr. Fletchers in the Court which did once belong to Dr. Newel the Dean of Pauls, he that I told you was a good man and a good Fisher; it is hard by the west end of St. Pauls Church. But if you will buy choice hooks, I will one day walk with you to Charles Kerbyes in Harp-alley in Shoe-lane, who is the most exact and best hook-maker the Nation affords. They be all three honest men, and will fit an Angler with what Tackling he wants.

VEN A. Then, good Master, let it be at Charls Brandons, for he is nearest to my dwelling, and I pray let's meet there the ninth of May next, about two of the clock, and I'll want nothing that a Fisher should be furnished with.

P I S C. Well, and I'll not fail you God willing, at the time and place appointed.

VENA. I thank you, good Master, and I will not fail you: and, good Master, tell me what Baits more you remember; for it will not now be long ere we shall be at Tottenbam-bigh-Cross, and when we come thither I will make you some requital of your pains, by repeating as choice a copy of Verses, as any we have heard since we met together; and that is a proud word, for we have heard very good ones.

PISC. Well, Scholar, and I shall be right glad to hear them; and I will tell you whatsoever comes in my mind, that I think may be worth your hearing. You may make another choice Bait thus, Take a handful or two of the best and biggest Wheat you can get, boil it in a little milk, (like as Frumthy is boiled) boil it so till it be soft, and then frie it very leisurely with Honey and a little beaten Saffron dissolved in milk, and you will find this a choice Bait, and good I think for any Fish, especially for Roath, Dace, Chub, or Greyling: I know not but that it may be as good for a Riverwarp, and especially if the ground be a little baited with it.

You are also to know, that there be divers kinds of Cadis, or Caseworms, that are to be found in this Nation in several distinct Counties, and in several little Brooks that relate to bigger Rivers, as namely, one Cadis called a Piper, whose husk or case is a piece of reed about

an inch long or longer, and as big about as the compass of a two pence; these worms being kept three or four days in a woolen bag with sand at the bottom of it, and the bag wet once a day, will in three or four dayes turn to be yellow, and these be a choice Bait for the Chub or Chavender, or indeed for any great Fish, for it is a large Bait.

There is also a lesser Cadis-worm, called a Cockespur, being in fashion like the spur of a Cock, sharp at one end, and the case or house in which this dwells is made of small husks and gravel, and slime, most curiously made of these, even so as to be woundred at, but not to be made by man no more than a King-fishers nest can, which is made of little Fishes bones, and have such a Geometrical inter-weaving and connexion, as the like is not to be done by the art of man: This kind of Cadis is a choice bait for any float-Fish, it is much less than the Piper-Cadis, and to be so ordered, and these may be so preserved ten, fifteen, or twenty days, or it may be longer.

There is also another Cadis, called by some a Strawworm, and by some a Ruffreat, whose house or case is made of little pieces of bents, and rushes, and straws, and water-weeds, and I know not what, which are so knit together with condensed slime, that they stick about her husk or case, not unlike the bristles of a Hedgehog; these three Cadis's are commonly taken in the beginning of Summer, and are good indeed to take any kind of fish with float or otherwise. I might tell you of many more, which as these do carly, so those have their time of turning to be flies later in Summer; but I might lose my self, and tire you by such a discourse, I shall therefore but remember you, that to know these, and their several kinds, and to what flies every particular Cadis turns, and then how to use them first as they be Cadis, and then as they be flyes, is an art, and an art that every one that professes to be an Angler has not leisure to search after, and if he had is not capable of learning.

Ile tell you, Scholar, several Countries have several kinds of Cadisses, that indeed differ as much as dogs do: That is to say, as much as a very Cur and a Greybound do. These be usually bred in the very little rills or ditches that run into bigger Rivers, and I think

a more proper bait for those very Rivers, than any other. I know not how or of what this Cadis receives life, or what coloured flye it turns to; but doubtlesse, they are the death of many Trouts, and this is one killing way.

Take one (or more if need be) of these large yellow Cadis, pull off his head, and with it pull out his black gut; put the body (as little bruised as is possible) on a very little hook, armed on with a Red hair (which will shew like the Cadis-bead) and a very little thin lead, so put upon the shank of the hook that it may sink presently; throw this bait thus ordered (which will look very yellow) into a hole where a Trout is, and he will presently venture his life for it, 'it's not to be doubted if you be not espyed; and that the bait first touch the water, before the line, and this will do best in the stillest water.

Next let me tell you. I have been much pleased to walk quietly by a Brook with a little stick in my hand, with which I might easily take these, and consider the curiosity of their composure; and if you shall ever like to do so, then note, that your stick must be cleft, or have a nick at one end of it, by which means you may with ease take many of them in that nick out of the water, before you have any occasions to use them. These, my honest Scholar, are some observations told to you as they now come suddenly into my memory, of which you may make some use: but for the practical part, it is that that makes an Angler: it is diligence, and observation, and practice. and an ambition to be the best in the Art that must do it. I will tell you, Scholar, I once heard one say, I envy not bim that eats better meat than I do, nor him that is richer, or that wears better clothes than I do. I enuv no body but him, and him only, that catches more fish than I do. And such a man is like to prove an Angler, and this noble emulation I wish to you and all young Anglers.

CHAPTER XVIII

Of the Minnow or Penk, of the Loach, and of the Bull-head,

P 1 S C. There be also three or four other little fish that I had almost forgot, that are all without scales, and may for excellency of meat be compared to any fish of greatest value, and largest size. They be usually full of eggs or spawn all the months of Summer; for they breed often, as 'tis observed mice and many of the smaller four-footed Creatures of the earth do; and as those, so these come quickly to their full growth and perfection. And it is needfull that they breed both often and numerously, for they be (besides other accidents of ruine) both a prey, and baits for other fish. And first, I shall tell you of the Minnow or Penk.

The Minnow hath, when he is in perfect season, and not sick (which is onely presently after spawning) a kind of dappled or waved colour, like to a Panther, on his sides, inclining to a greenish and skie-colour, his belly being milk-white, and his back almost black or blackish. He is a sharp biter at a small worm, and in hot weather makes excellent sport for young Anglers, or boyes, or women that love that Recreation, and in the spring they make of them excellent Minnow-Tansies; for being washed well in salt, and their heads and tails cut off, and their guts taken out, they prove excellent for that use, being fired with yolks of eggs, the flowers of Cawslips, and of Primroses, and a little Tansie.

The Loach is, as I told you, a most dainty fish, he breeds and feeds in little and clear swift brooks or rills; and lives there upon the gravel, and in the sharpest streams: He grows not to be above a finger-long, and no thicker than is sutable to that length. This Loach, is of the shape of the Eele: He has a beard or wartels like a Barbel. He has two fins at his sides, four at his belly and one at his tail; he is dapled with many black or brown spots, his mouth is Barbel-like under his nose. This Fish is usually full of eggs or

spawn, and is by Gesner and other learned Physitians commended for great nourishment, and to be very grateful both to the palate and stomach of sick persons, and is to be fished for with a very small



worm at the bottom, for he very seldom or never rises above the Gravel, on which I told you he usually gets his living.

The Millers-thumb, or Bull-head, is a Fish of no pleasing shape. He is by Gesner compared to the Sea-toad-fish, for his similitude and shape. It has a head big and flat, much greater than sutable to his Body; a mouth very wide and usually gaping. He is without teeth, but his lips are very rough, much like to a File. He hath two Fins



near to his gills, which be roundish or crested, two Fins also under the Belly, two on the Back, one below the Vent, and the Fin of his tail is round. Nature hath painted the Body of this Fish with whitish, blackish, brountish spots. They be usually full of eggs or spawn all the Summer, (I mean the Females) and those eggs swell their Vents almost into the form of a dug. They begin to spawn about April,

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and (as I told you) spawn several moneths in the Summer; and in the Winter the Minnow, and Loach, and Bull-head dwell in the mud as the Eele doth, or we know not where; no more than we know where the Cuckoe and Swallow, and other Summer-birds (which first appear to us in April) spend their cold winter melancholy moneths. This Bull-head does usually dwell and hide himself in holes or amongst stones in clear water; and in very hot daies will lie a very long time and very still, and sun himself, and will be easie to be seen upon any flat stone, or on any gravel, at which time he will suffer an Angler to put a hook baited with a small worm very near unto his very mouth, and he never refuses to bite, nor indeed to be caught with the worst of Anglers. Mattbiolus commends him much more for his taste and nourishment, than for his shape or beauty.

There is also a little Fish called a Sticklebag; a Fish without scales, but hath his body fenc'd with several prickles. I know not where he dwells in winter, nor what he is good for in summer, but onely to make sport for boyes and women-Anglers, and to feed other Fish that be Fish of prey, as Trouts in particular, who will bite at him as at a Penk, and better, if your hook be rightly baited with him, for he may be so baited as his tail turning like the sail of a windmill will make him turn more quick than any Penk or Minnow can. For note, that the nimble turning of that or the Minnow is the perfection of Minnow-fishing. To which end, if you put your hook into his mouth, and out at his tail, and then having first tied him with white thred a little above his tail, and placed him after such a manner on your hook as he is like to turn, then sow up his mouth to your line, and he is like to turn quick, and tempt any Trout: but if he do not turn quick, then turn his tail a little more or lesse towards the inner part, or towards the side of the hook, or put the Minnow or Sticklebag a little more crooked or more strait on your hook, untill it will turn both true and fast; and then doubt not but to tempt any great Trout that lies in a swift stream. And the Loach that I told you of, will do the like; no bait is more tempting, provided the Loach be not too big.

And now Scholar, with the help of this fine morning, and your

patient attention, I have said all that my present memory will afford me concerning most of the several Fish that are usually fisht for in fresh waters.

VENA. But Master, you have by your former civility made me hope that you will make good your promise, and say something of the several Rivers that be of most note in this Nation; and also of Flibh-ponds, and the ordering of them; and do it I pray good Master; for I love any Discourse of Rivers, and Fish and fishing; the time spent in such discourse passes away very pleasantly.

CHAPTER XIX

Of several Rivers, and some Observations of Fish.

P 1 S C. Well Scholar, since the ways and weather do both favor us, and that we yet see not Tottenbam Cross, you shall see my willingness to satisfie your desire. And first, for the Rivers of this Nation, there be (as you may note out of Dr. Heyling Geography, and others) in number 325. but those of chiefest note he reckons and describes as followeth.

The chief is Thamistis, compounded of two Rivers, Thame and Isis; whereof the former rising somewhat beyond Thame in Buckinghamshite, and the latter in Cyrencester in Glocestershire meet together about Doreester in Oxfordshire, the issue of which happy conjunction is the Thamistis or Thames. Hence it flyeth betwixt Berke, Buckinghamshire, Midlletex, Surrey, Kent, and Essex, and so weddeth himself to the Kentish Meduay in the very jaws of the Ocean; this glorious River feeleth the violence and benefit of the Sea more than any River in Europe; ebbing and flowing twice a day, more than sixty miles; about whose banks are so many fair Towns, and Princely Palaces, that a Cerman Poet thus truly spake:

Tot Campos, &c.

We saw so many Woods and Princely bowers, Sweet Fields, brave Palaces, and stately Towers,

So many Gardens drest with curious care, That Thames with royal Tiber may compare.

- The second River of note, is Subrina or Severn; it hath its beginning in Plinilimmon-Hill in Mont-gomery-shire, and his end seven miles from Britol, washing in the mean space the walls of Shrewshury, Worester, and Glocester, and divers other places and palaces of note.
- 3. Trent, so called for thirty kind of Fishes that are found in it, or for that it receiveth thirty lesser Rivers, who having his fountain in Stafford-shire, and gliding through the Countries of Nottingham, Lincoln, Leicester, and York, augmenteth the turbulent current of Humber, the most violent stream of all the Isle. This Humber is not, to say truth, a distinct River, having a spring head of his own, but rather the mouth or Eustorium of divers Rivers here confluent and meeting together; namely, your Derwent, and especially of Ouse and Trent; and (as the Danoue, having received into its channel, the River Draws, Saws, Thismus, and divers others) changeth his name into this of Humberabus, as the old Geographers call it.
- 4. Medway, a Kentish River, famous for harbouring the Royal Navy.
- 5. Tweed, the north-east bound of England, on whose northern banks is seated the strong and impregnable Town of Barwick.
- 6. Tine, famous for Newcastle, and her inexhaustible Coal-pits. These, and the rest of principal note, are thus comprehended in one of Mr. Draytons Sonnets.

The floods queen Thames for ships and swans is crown'd,
And stately Severn for her shore is prais'd,
The Chrystal Trent for fords and fish renown'd,
And Avons fame to Albions cliffs is rais'd,

Carlegion Chester vants her holy Dee, York many wonders of her Ouse can tell, The Peke her Dove, whose banks so fertile be, And Kent will say her Medway doth excell.

Cotswooll commends her Isis to the Tame,
Our Northern horders houst of Tweeds fair Flood,
Our western parts extoll their Willies fame,
And the old Lea brags of the Danish blood.

These observations are out of learned Dr. Heylin, and my old deceased friend Michbeel Draiton; and because you say, you love such discourses as these of fish and fishing, I love you the better, and love the more to impart them to you; nevertheless, Steblar, if I should begin but to name the several sorts of strange Fish that are usually taken in many of these Rivers that run into the Sea, I might beget wonder in you, or unbelief, or both; and yet I will venture to tell you a real truth concerning one lately dissected by Dr. Whatton, a man of great learning and experience, and of equall freedom to communicate it, one that loves me and my Art, one to whom I have been beholding for many of the choicest observations that I have imparted to you. This good man, that dates do any thing rather than tell an untruth, did (I say) tell me he lately dissected one, and he thus described it to me:

He was almost a yard broad, and twice that length; his mouth wide enough to receive or take into it the head of a man, his stomach seven or eight inches broad; he is of a slow motion, and usually lyes or lurks close in the mud, and has a moveable string on his head about a span, or near unto a quarter of a yard long, by the moving of which (which is his natural Bait) when he lyes close and unseen in the mud, he draws other smaller fish close to him, and then suchs them into his mouth and devours them.

And, Scholar, do not wonder at this; for besides the credit of the Relator, you are to note, many of these, and Fishes which are of the like and more usual shapes, are very often taken on the mouths of our Sea-rivers, and on the Sea-shore; and this will be no wonder to any that have travelled Egypt, where 'tis known the famous River Nilus does not onely breed Fishes that yet want names, but by the overflowing of that River by the help of the Suns heat on that fat slime which that River leaves on the Banks, (when it falls back into its natural channel) strange Beasts are also bred, that no man

can give a name to, as Grotius (in his Sopham) and others have observed.

But whither am I straid in this discourse? I will end it by telling you, that at the mouth of some of these Rivers of ours, Herrings are so plentiful, as namely, near to Yannouth in Norfolk, and in the west Country, Pilchers so very plentiful, as you will wonder to read what our learned Cambden relates of them in his Britannia, p. 178, 186.

Well, Scholar, I will stop here, and tell you what by reading and conference I have observed concerning Fish-ponds.

CHAPTER XX

Of Fish-ponds, and how to order them.

OCTOR LEBAULT the learned French man, in his large discourse of Mason Rustique, gives this direction for making of Fish-ponds. I shall refer you to him to read it at large, but I think I shall contract it, and yet make it as useful.

He adviseth, that when you have dreined the ground, and made the earth firm where the head of the Pond must be, that you must then in that place drive in two or three rows of Oak or Elme Piles, which should be scorcth in the fire, or half burnt before they be driven into the earth, (for being thus used preserves them much longer from rotting) and having done so, lay Fagots or Bavins of smaller wood betwixt them, and then earth betwixt and above them, and then having first very well rammed them and the earth, another pile used in like manner as the first were: and note that the second pile is to be of or about the height that you intend to make your Sluce or Flood-gate, or the vent that you intend shall convey the overflowings of your Pond in any flood that shall endanger the breaking of the Pond dam.

Then he advises that you plant Willows or Owlers about it, or cast in Bavins in some places not far from the side, and in the most sandy places for Fish both to spawn upon, and to defend them and

the young Frie from the many Fish, and also from Vermin that lie at watch to destroy them, especially the spawn of the Carp and Tench.

He and Dubravius and all others advise, that you make choice of such a place for your Pond, that it may be refresht with a little rill, or with rain water running or falling into it; by which Fish are more inclined both to breed, and are also refresht and fed the better, and do prove to be of a much sweeter and more pleasant taste.

To which end it is observed, that such Pools as be large and have most gravel, and shallows where fish may sport themselves, do afford Fish of the purest taste. And note, that in all Pools it is best for fish to have some retiring place, as namely hollow banks, or shelves, or roots of trees to keep them from danger; and when they think fit from the extream heat of Summer, as also from the extremity of cold in Winter. And note, that if many trees be growing about your Pond, the leaves thereof falling into the water, make it nausious to the Fish, and the Fish to be so to the eater of it.

'Tis noted that the Tench and Eele love mud, and the Carp loves gravelly ground, and in the hot moneths to feed on grasse: You are to cleanse your Pond if you intend either profit or pleasure, once every three or four Years, (especially some Ponds) and then let them lie drie six or twelve moneths, both to kill the water-weeds, as Water-lillies, Candocks, Reate, and Bull-rushes, that breed there; and also that as these die for want of water, so grasse may grow on the Ponds bottom, which Carps will eat greedily in all the hot moneths. The letting your Pond dry and sowing Oats in the bottom is also good, for the fish feed the faster: and being sometime let dry you may observe what kind of Fish either increases or thrives best in that water; for they differ much both in their breeding and feeding.

Lebault also advises, that if your Ponds be not very large and roomy, that you often feed your fish by throwing into them chippings of Bread, Curds, Grains, or the entrails of Chickens, or of any fowl or beast that you kill to feed your selves; for these afford Fish a great relief. He sayes that Frogs and Ducks do much harm, and devour both the Spawn and the young Frie of all Fish, especially of the Carp. And I have besides experience, many testimonies of

it. But Lebault allows Water-frogs to be good meat, especially in some moneths, if they be fat: But you are to note, that he is a Frenebman, and we English will hardly believe him, though we know frogs are usually eaten in his Country: however he advises to destroy them and King-fishers out of your ponds; and he advises, not to suffer much shooting at wild fowle, for that (he saies) affrightens, and harms, and destroyes the Fish.

Note, that Carps and Tench thrive and breed best when no other Fish is put with them into the same Pond; for all other Fish devour their spawn, or at least the greatest part of it. And note, that clods of grass thrown into any Pond feed any Carps in Summer; and that garden earth and parsley thrown into a Pond, recovers and refreshes the sick fish. And note, that when you store your pond, you are to put into it two or three Melters for one Spawner, if you put them into a breeding Pond; but if into a nurse-pond, or feeding pond, in which they will not breed, then no care is to be taken, whether there be most Male or Female Carps.

It is observed, that the best ponds to breed Carps are those that be stonie or sandy, and are warm, and free from wind, and that are not deep, but have willow trees and grass on their sides, over which the water does sometimes flow: and note, that Carps do more usually breed in marle pits, or pits that have clean clay bottoms, or in new ponds, or ponds that lie dry a winter season, than in old ponds, that be full of mud and weeds.

Well Scholar, I have told you the substance of all that either observation, or discourse, or a diligent Survey of Dubravius and Lebault hath told me. Not that they in their long discourses have not said more, but the most of the rest are so common observations, as if a man should tell a good Arithmetician, that twice two is four. I will therefore end this discourse, and we will here sit down and rest us.

CHAPTER XXI

Directions for making of a Line, and for the colouring of both

Rod and Line.

P 1 S C. Well, Scholar, I have held you too long about these cadit, and smaller fish, and rivers, and Fish-ponds, and my spirits are almost spent, and so I doubt is your patience; but being we are now almost at Tottenbam, where I first met you, and where we are to part, I will lose no time, but give you a little direction how to make and order your Lines, and to colour the hair of which you make your Lines, for that is very needfull to be known of an Angler; and also how to paint your Rod; especially your top, for a right grown top is a choice Commodity, and should be preserved from the water soaking into it, which makes it in wet weather to be heavy, and fish ill-favouredly, and not true, and also it rots quickly for want of painting: and I think a good top is worth preserving, or I had not taken care to keep a top above twenty years.

But first for your line.

First, note, That you are to take care, that your hair to be round and free from galls or scabs, or frets; for a well-chosen, even, clear, round hair, of a kind of glass-colour, will prove as strong as three uneven scabby hairs, that are ill chosen, and full of galls or unevenness. You shall seldom find a black hair but it is round, but many white are flat and uneven; therefore, if you get a lock of right, round, clear, glass-colour hair make much of it.

And for making your Line, observe this rule, First, let your hair be clean washt ere you go about to twist it: and then chuse not only the clearest hair for it, but hairs that be of an equal bigness, for such do usually stretch all together, and not break singly one by one, but all together.

When you have twisted your links lay them in water for a quarter of an hour, at least, and then twist them over again before you tie them into a Line; for those that do not so shall usually find their

Lines to have a hair or two shrink, and be shorter than the rest at the first fishing with it, which is so much of the strength of the Line lost for want of first watering it, and then re-twisting it; and this is most visible in a seven-hair line, one which hath alwayes a black hair in the middle.

And for dying of your hairs do it thus:

Take a pint of strong Ale, half a pound of soot, and a little quantity of the juice of Walnut-tree leaves, and an equal quantity of Allome, put these together into a pot, or pan, or pipkin, and boil them half an hour, and having so done, let it cool, and being cold, put your hair into it, and there let it lie, it will turn your hair to be a kind of water or glass colour, or greenish, and the longer you let it lie, the deeper coloured it will be; you might be taught to make many other colours, but it is to little purpose; for doubtlesse the water or glass-coloured hair is the most choice and most useful for an Angler; but let it not be too green.

But if you desire to colour hair greener, then do it thus: Take a quart of small Ale, half a pound of Allome, then put these into a pan or pipkin, and your hair into it with them, then put it upon a fire and let it boil softly for half an hour, and then take out your hair, and let it dry, and having so done, then take a pottle of water, and put into it two handfull of Marygolds, and cover it with a tile, (or what you think fit,) and set it again on the Fire, where it is to boil softly for half an hour, about which time the scum will turn yellow, then put into it half a pound of Copperas beaten small, and with it the hair that you intend to colour, then let the hair be boiled softly till half the liquor be wasted, and then let it cool three or four hours with your hair in it: and you are to observe, that the more Copperas you put into it, the greener it will be, but doubtlesse the pale green is best: But if you desire yellow hair, (which is onely good when the weeds rot) then put in the more Mary golds, and abate most of the Copperas, or leave it out, and take a little Verdigreece instead of it.

This for colouring your hair. And as for painting your Rod, which must be in Oil, you must first make a size with glue and water, boiled together, untill the glue be dissolved, and the size of a Lie-

colour; then strike your size upon the wood with a Bristle, or a Brush or Pensil, whilst it is hot: that being quite dry, take white Lead, and a little red Lead, and a little cole black, so much as altogether will make an ash-colour; grind these all together with Linseed Oil, let it be thick, and lay it thin upon the wood with a Brush or Pensil, this do for the ground of any colour to lie upon wood.

For a Green.

Take Pink and Verdigreece, and grind them together in Linseed Oil, as thick as you can well grind it, then lay it smoothly on with your Brush, and drive it thin, once doing for the most part will serve, if you lay it well, and be sure your first colour be throughly dry before you lay on a second.

Well, Scholar, you now see Tottenbam, and I am weary and therefore glad that we are so near it: and if I were to walk many more days with you, I could still be telling you more and more of the mysterious Art of Angling: But I will hope for another opportunity, and then I will acquaint you with many more, both necessary and true observations concerning fish and fishing: but now no more, let's turn into yonder Arbour, for it is a clean and cool place.

VENA. 'Tis a fair motion, and I will requite a part of your courtesies with a bottle of Sack, Milk, Oranges, and Sugar, which all put together, make a drink like Nectar, indeed too good for any body but us Anglers: and so Master, here is a full glasse to you of that liquor, and when you have pledged me, I will repeat the Verses which I promised you; it is a Copy printed amongst Sir Henry Wottons Verses, and doubtless made either by him, or by a lover of Angling: Come Master, now drink a glasse to me, and then I will pledge you, and fall to my repetition; it is a description of such Country/Recreations as I have enjoyed since I had the happiness to fall into your company.

Quivering fears, heart-tearing cares, Anxious sighs, untimely tears, Flye, flye to Courts, Flye to fond worldlings sports,

Where strain'd Sardonick smiles are glosing still, And grief is forc'd to laugh against her will. Where mirth's but mummery.

And sorrows onely real be.

Flye from our Countrey-pastimes, flye, Sad troops of humane misery, Come serene looks. Clear as the Christal Brooks. Or the pure azur'd beaven that smiles to see The rich attendance on our poverty: Peace and a secure mind.

Which all men seek, we onely find, Abused Mortals, did you know Where joy, hearts-ease and comforts grow, You'ld scorne proud Towers,

And seek them in these Bowers, Where winds sometimes our woods perhaps may shake, But blustring care could never tempest make, Nor murmurs ere come nigh us,

Saving of fountains that glide by us, Here's no fantastick Mask nor Dance, But of our Kids that frisk and prance;

Nor wars are seen, Unlesse upon the green

Two harmless Lambs are butting one the other, Which done, both bleating, run each to his mother.

And wounds are never found, Save what the plough-share gives the ground.

Here are no entraping baits To hasten too too hasty fates, Unlesse it be The fond credulity

Of silly fish, which (worldling like) still look Upon the bait, but never on the book: Nor envy, 'nlesse among The birds for price of their sweet sons.

Go, let the diving Negro seek
For Gems bid in some forlorne creek:
We all pearls scorne,
Save what the deury morne
Congeals upon each little spire of grasse,
Which carelesse shopberds beat down as they passe:
And gold no're bere appears,
Save what the vellow Ceres bears.

Blest silent groves, ob may you be
For ever mirths best mursery:
May pure contents
For ever pitch bleir tents
Upon these downs, these meads, these rocks, these mountains,
And Peace still slumber by these purling fountains:
Which we may every year
Meet when we come a fiching here.

P I S C. Trust me (Scholar) I thank you heartily for these Verses, they be choicely good, and doubtless made by a lover of Angling: Come, now, drink a glass to me, and I will requite you with a very good Copy of Verses: it is a Farewell to the vanities of the World, and some say written by Sir Harry Westten, who I told you was an excellent Angler. But let them be writ by whom they will, he that writ them had a brave soul, and must needs be possest with happy thoughts at the time of their composure:

Farewel ye gilded foilies, pleasing troubles; Farewell ye bonour'd rags, ye glorious bubbles: Fame's but a bollow eccho, Gold pure clay; Honour the darling but of one sbort day.

Beauty (th' eyes idol) but a damask'd skin;
State but a golden prison, to live in,
And torture free-born minds; imbroydred Train
Meerly but pageants for proud swelling veins;
And Blood ally'd to Greatnesse is alone
Inberied, not purchos'd, nor our own.
Fame, Honour, Beauty, State, Train, Blood, and Birth
Are but the fading Blossoms of the earth.

I would be great, but that the Sun doth still Level bis rayes against the rising bill: I would be high, but see the proudest Oak Most subject to the rending Thunder-stroak: I would be rich, but see men (too unkind) Dig in the bowels of the richest mind: I would be wise, but that I often see The Fox suspected, whilest the Ass goes free: I would be fair, but see the fair and proud (Like the bright Sun) oft setting in a cloud. I would be poor, but know the bumble grasse Still trampled on by each unworthy Asse: Rich bated: wise suspected: scorn'd if poor: Great fear'd: fair tempted: high still envy'd more: I have wish'd all; but now I wish for neither; Great, high, rich, wise, nor fair; poor Ile be rather.

Would the world now adopt me for her heir,

Would Beauties Queen entitle me the Faix,
Fame speak me Fortunes Minion: could I vie

Angels with India, with a speaking eye
Command bare beads, bow'd knees, strike Justice dumb

As well as blind and lame, or give a tongue

To stones by Epitaphs: be call'd great Master

In the losse Rhimes of every Poetaster:

Could I be more than any men that lives,

Great, fair, rich, wise, in all Superlatives:

Yet I more freely would these gifts resign, Than ever fortune would have made them mine. And hold one minute of this holy leasure Beyond the riches of this empty pleasure.

Welcome pure thoughts, welcome ye silent Groves. These guests, these courts my soul most dearly loves: Now the wing'd people of the skie shall sing My cheerful Anthems to the gladsom Spring: A Pray'r-Book now shall be my looking-glass. In which I will adore sweet Vertue's face. Here dwell no bateful looks, no Palace-cares, No broken Vows dwell here, nor pale-fac'd Fears: Then here I'll sit and sigh my hot loves folly, And learn t' affect a boly melancholy, And if Contentment be a stranger then,

I'll ne're look for it, but in beaven agen.

VENA. Well Master, these Verses be worthy to keep a room in every mans memory. I thank you for them; and I thank you for your many instructions, which (God willing) I will not forget: and as St. Austin in his Confessions (book 4, chap. 3.) commemorates the kindness of his friend Verecundus, for lending him and his companion a Country-house, because there they rested themselves from the troubles of the world; so I having had the like advantage, both by your conversation, and the Art you have taught me, ought ever to do the like: for indeed your company and discourse have been so useful and pleasant, that I may truly say, I bave only lived since I enjoyed them, and turned Angler, and not before. Nevertheless, here I must part with you, here in this now sad place where I was so happy as first to meet you; But I shall long for the ninth of May, for then I hope again to enjoy your beloved company, at the appointed time and place. And now I wish for some somniferous potion, that might force me to sleep away the intermitted time, which will passe away with me as tediously, as it does with men in sorrow; nevertheless I will make it as short as I can by my

hopes and wishes. And, my good Master, I will not forget the doctrine which you told me Socrates taught his Scholars. That they should not think to be honoured so much for being Philosophers, as to honour Philosophie by their vertuous lives. You advised me to the like concerning Angling, and I will endeavour to do so, and to live like those many worthy men, of which you made mention in the former part of your Discourse. This is my firm resolution, and as a pious man advised his friend, That to beget Mortification be should frequent Churches, and view Monuments, and Charnel-houses, and then and there consider, how many dead bones time had piled up at the gates of death. So when I would beget content, and increase confidence in the Power, and Wisdom, and Providence of Almighty God, I will walk the Meadows by some gliding stream, and there contemplate the Lillies that take no care. and those very many other various little living creatures that are not onely created but fed (man knowes not how) by the goodness of the God of Nature. This is my purpose, and so, Let every thing that hath breath praise the Lord. And let the blessing of St. Peters Master be with mine.

PISC. And upon all that are lovers of Vertue, and all that love to be quiet, and go a fishing.

Study to be quiet, 1 Thes. 4. 11.

A SHORT

DISCOURSE

BY WAY OF POST, SCRIPT

TOUCHING THE

LAWES OF ANGLING

My Good Friend,

I cannot but tender my particular thanks to you, for that you have been pleased by three Editions of your Complete Angler, freely to dispense your dear-bought Experiences to all the lovers of that Art; and have thereby so excellently vindicated the Legality thereof as to Divine approbation, that if I should go about to say more in that behalf, it indeed were to light a Candle to the Sun: But since all pleasures (though never so innocent in themselves) lose that stamp, when they are either pursued with inordinate affections, or to the prejudice of another; therefore as to the former, every man ought to endeavour, through a serious consideration of the vanity of worldly contentments, to moderate his affections thereunto, whereby they may be made of excellent use, as some poisons allayed are in Physick: And as to the latter, we are to have recourse to the known Laws, ignorance whereof excuseth no man, and by their directions so square our actions, that we hurt no man, but keep close to that golden Rule, To do to all men, as we would our selves be done unto. Now concerning the Art of Angling, we may conclude, Sir, that is you have proved it to be of great Antiquity, so I find it favoured by the Laws of this Kingdom; for where provision is made by our Statutes primo Elizab. cap. 17. against taking Fish by Nets that be tot of such and such a size there set down, yet those Law-makers ad so much respect to Anglers, as to except them, and leave them liberty to catch as big as they could, and as little as they would

LAWES OF ANGLING

eatch. And yet though this Apostolical Recreation be simply in it self lawful, yet no man can go upon another mans ground to fish. without his license, but that he is a Trespasser; but if a man have license to enter into a Close or Ground for such a space of time. there, though he practise Angling all that time, he is not a Trespasser, because his Fishing is no abuse of his license; but this is to be understood of Running Streams, and not of Ponds or standing Pools: for in case of a Pond or standing Pool, the Owner thereof hath a property in the fish, and they are so far said to be his, that he may have Trespass for the fish against any one that shall take them without his license, though it be upon a Common, or adjoyning to the Kings High-way, or adjoyning to another mans ground, who gives license: But in case of a River, where one or more have libera piscaria, only it is otherwise, for there the fishes are said to be ferge naturae, and the taking of them with an Angle is not Trespasse, for that no man is said to have a property in them till he have caught them, and then it is a Trespass for any to take them from him: but this is not to be understood of fishes confined to a mans own ground by grates or otherwise, so that they cannot pass away, but may be taken out or put in at pleasure, for in that case the party hath a property in them, as in the case of a standing Pool,

But where any one hath separabilis piscaria, as in Child and Greenbills Case¹ in Trin. 15. Car. 1. in the Kings Bench, there it seemeth that the fish may be said to be his, because no man else may take them whilest they are within his several fishing; therefore what is meant by a several fishing is necessary to be considered: and though the difference between a Free fishing and a Several fishing be often treated of in the ancient books of the Law, and some Opinions will have the difference to be great, and others small or nothing at all; yet the certainest definition of a several fishing is, where one hath the Royalty, and owneth the ground on each side of the water: which agreeth with Sir William Callbrowps Case.² where an Action was

¹ Tr. 15. Car. 1. ² Mich. 17. E. 4. 6. and Pasc. 18. E. 4. 4.

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brought by him against another for fishing in his several fishing, &c., to which the Defendant pleaded, That the place wherein the Trespase was supposed to be done, contained ten Perches of Land in length, and twenty Perches in breadth, which was his own Free-hold at the time when the Trespase was supposed to be done, and that he fished there as was lawful for him to do: and this was adjudged a good Plea by the whole Court, and upon argument in that very Case it was agreed, that no man could have a several fishing but in his own soyl, and that free fishing may be in the soyl of another man, which was all agreed unto by Littleton our famous English Lawyer. So that from all this may be drawn this short conclusion, That if the Anglet take care that he offend not with his feet, there is no great danger of his hands.

But there are some covetous rigid persons, whose souls hold no sympathy with those of the innocent Anglers, having either got to be Lords of Royalties, or owners of Lands adjoyning to Rivers, do, by some apted clownish nature and education for the purpose, insult and domineer over the innocent Angler, beating him, breaking his Rod, or at least taking it from him, and sometimes imprisoning his person as if he were a Felon: Whereas a true-bred Gentleman scorns those spider-like attempts, and will rather refresh a civil stranger at his Table, than warn him from coming on his ground upon so innocent an occasion. It would therefore be considered how far such furious drivers are warranted by the Law, and what the Angler may (in case of such violence) do in defence of himself: If I come upon another mans ground without his license, or the license of the Law, I am a Trespasser, for which the owner may have an Action of Trespasse against me, and if I continue there after warning to depart by the owner, or his servant thereunto authorized, the owner or his servant by his command, may put me off by force, but not beat me, but in case of resistance by me, for then I (by resisting) make the assault; but if he beat me, I not resisting, in that case he makes the assault, and I may beat him in defence of my self, and to free my self from his violence: and in case I shall leave my Rod behind in his ground, he may take it damage feasant, but he can

LAWES OF ANGLING

neither take it from my person by force, nor break it, but he is a Trespasser to me: Which seems clear by the case of Reynell and Champernoon, where Reynell brought an Action of Trespass against Champernoon for taking and cutting his Nets, the Defendant justified for that he was seised in fee of a several fishing, and that the Plaintiff with others endeavoured to rowe upon his water, and with the nets to catch his fish, and that for the safe-guard of his fishing he took and cut the Nets and Oars; to which plea the Plaintiff demurred; and there it was adjudged by the whole Court, that he could not by such colour cut the Nets and Oars, and judgment was thereupon given for the Plaintiff.

Doubtless our Fore-fathers well considered, that man to man was a wolf, and therefore made good Laws to keep us from devouring one another, and amongst the rest a very good Statute was made in the three and fortieth year of Queen Elizabeth, whereby it is provided, that in personal Actions in the Courts at Westminster, (being not for Land or Battery) when it shall appear to the Judges, (and be so by them signified) that the debt or damages to be recovered amount not to the sum of forty shillings or above, the said Judges shall award to the Plaintiff no more costs than damages, but lesse at their discretion.

And now with my acknowledgment of the advantage I have had both by your friendship and your book, I wish nothing that looks like an alteration in the first, nor any thing in the last, but that, by reason of the useful pleasure of it, you had called it The Arcadia of Angling, for it deserves that Title, and I would deserve the continuance of your Friendship.

¹ Mich. 7. Car. 1.

FINIS

THE CHIEF

ALTERATIONS AND ADDITIONS

IN THE PIPME PRODUCT

OF 1676

The text of The Compleat Angler has been printed here from the fourth chition of 1668. The Second Part by Charles Cotton was added to the fifth edition of 1676, in which the First Part was also carefully revised by the author. The principal alterations and additions made by Walton in the fifth edition are as follows:

CHAPTER I

P. 19, l. 28. Suns heat, but] 1676 has: "suns's heat, she flies so near it, but. . . ."

- P. 24, 1. 23. bis sent] 1676 bas: "his first scent. . . ."
- P. 27, l. 13. Physician] 1676 adds: "Dr. Wharton. . . ."
 P. 27, l. 34. learning] 1676 adds: "must be pleasing."
- P. 28, l. 12. such things have] 1676 has: "such things ever were, or that any of them have. . . ."
- P. 29, l. 12. is an Art] 1676 adds: "is it not an art to deceive a Trout with an artificial Fly? a Trout! that is more sharp-sighted than any Hawk you have named, and more watchful and timotous than your high-mettled Marlin is bold? and yet, I doubt not to catch a brace or two to-morrow, for a friend's breakfast: doubt not therefore, Sir, but that angling is an art..."
- P. 29, l. 16. practice and experience] 1676 has: "discourse and practice. . . ."
- P. 32, l. 3. there be divers wonders reported of them] 1676 has: "there be so many wonders reported and written of them, and of the several creatures that be bred and live in them, and those...."
- P. 32, l. 27. Sabbath] 1676 adds: "But I will lay aside my discourse of rivers, and tell you some things of the monsters, or fish, call them what

you will, that they breed and feed in them. Pliny the philosopher says (in the third chapter of his ninth book) that in the Indian Sea, the fish called the Balaena or Whirlpool, is so long and broad, as to take up more in length and breadth than two acres of ground; and, of other fish of two hundred cubits long; and that in the river Ganges, there be Eels of thirty foot long. He says there, that these monsters appear in that sea only, when the tempestuous winds oppose the torrents of waters falling from the rocks into it, and so turning what lay at the bottom to be seen on the water's top. And he says, that the people of Cadara, an island near this place, make the timber for their houses of those fishbones. He there tells us, that there are sometimes a thousand of these great Eels found wrapt, or interwoven together. He tells us there, that it appears that dolphins love music, and will come, when called for, by some men or boys, that know and use to feed them; and that they can swim as swift as an arrow can be shot out a bow; and much of this is spoken concerning the dolphin, and other fish, as may be found also in learned Dr. Casaubon's Discourse of Credulity and Incredulity, printed by him about the year 1670.

I know, we Islanders are averse to the belief of these wonders; but there be so many strange creatures to be now seen, many collected by John Tredescant, and others added by my friend Elias Ashmole, Esq., who now keeps them carefully and methodically at his house near to Lambeth, near London, as may get some belief of some of the other wonders I mentioned. I will tell you some of the wonders that you may now see, and not till then believe, unless you think fit.

You may there see the Hog-fish, the Dog-fish, the Dolphin, the Cony-fish, the Parrot-fish, the Shark, the Poison-fish, Sword-fish, and not only other incredible fish, but you may there see the Salamander, several sorts of Barnacles, of Solan Geese, the Bird of Paradise, such sorts of Snakes, and such Bird's-nests, and of so various forms, and so wonderfully made, as may beget wonder and amusement in any beholder: and so many hundred of other rarities in that collection, as will make the other wonders I spake of, the less incredible; for, you may note, that the waters are Nature's store-house, in which she locks up her wonders."

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P. 37, L. 6. Gentiles] 1676 adds: "and inspired them also with a power to speak all languages, and by their powerful eloquence to beget faith in the unbelieving Jews; and themselves to suffer for that Saviour whom their forefathers and they had crucified; and, in their sufferings, to preach..."

P. 38, l. 17. bim] 1676 bas: "Amos. . . ."

P. 39, l. 2. a toilsom] 1676 bas: "a turbulent, toilsome. . . ."

CHAPTER II

P. 45, l. 9. in a night] 1676 adds: "to catch for her young ones, or to glut herself with fish, and I can tell you that Pigeons will fly forty miles for a breakfast. . . ."

P. 46, l. 30. like mine hoste] 1676 has: "like your lodging, and mine host. . . ."

CHAPTER III

P. 51, l. 18. the Chub to be] 1676 bas: "the Chub being dressed in the blood and quickly, to be. . . ."

P. 51, l. 19. labour] 1676 adds: "and disabuse your opinion."

P. 51, l. 32. gutted] 1676 adds: "as indeed no fish should be."

P. 53, l. 22. skin] 1676 adds: "of the mouth. . . ."

CHAPTER IV

P. 56, 1.26. that there is a Fish... no man knows what 1 1676 has instead: "that grasshoppers and some fish have no mouths, but are nourished and take breath by the porousness of their gills, man knows not how; and this may be believed, if we consider that when the raven hath hatched her eggs, she takes no further care, but leaves her young ones to the care of the God of nature, who is said, in the Psalms, 'to feed the young ravens that call upon him.' And they be kept alive and fed by a dew, or worms that breed in their nests, or some other ways that we mortals know not...."

P. 57, l. 7. swallows] 1676 adds: "and bats and wagtails. . . ."

P. 57, l. 7. which are] 1676 adds: "called half-year birds, and. . . ."

P. 59, l. 13. Trouts, though they all go] 1676 has: "Trouts, but these several kinds are not considered but by very few men, for they go..."

P. 59, l. 14. just as there be] 1676 has: "just as pigeons do in most places; though it is certain, there are. . . ."

P. 59, l. 15. (and too many to name) which all differ, and so do Trouts in their bignesse, shape and colour 1 1070 bas: "and indeed too many to name. Nay, the Royal Society have found and published lately, that there be thirty and three kinds of spiders; and yet all, for aught I know, go under that one general name of Spider. And 'tis so with many kinds of fish, and of Trouts especially; which differ in their bignesse and shape, and spots and colour."

P. 60, l. 24. bigh bedge: We'll sit] 1676 bas: "high honeysuckle hedge; there we'll sit and sing..."

P. 61, 1. 8. that had cast away all care] 1676 has: "that had not yet attained so much age and wisdom as to load her mind with any fears of many things that will never be, as too many men too often do; but she cast away all care. . ."

P. 62, l. 3. Chevy Chase] 1676 adds: "or Johnny Armstrong, or Troy Town?"

P. 64, l. 16. at the end of "The Milk-Maild Mothers Answer"] 1676 adds:
"MOTHER.Well, I have done my song. But stay, honest anglers; for I
will make Maudlin to sing you one short song more. Maudlin! sing
that song that you sung last night, when young Coridon the shepherd
played so purely on his oaten pipe to you and your cousin Betty.

MAUDLIN. I will, mother.

I married a wife of late, The more's my unhappy fate: I married her for love, As my fancy did me move, And not for a worldly estate: But oh! the green-sickness Soon changed her likeness;

VARIANTS OF 1676

And all her beauty did fail.

But 'tis not so

With those that go Thro' frost and snow.

As all men know.

And carry the milking pail."

CHAPTER V

P. 65, l. 10. if the weather be anything like] 1676 has: "for I'll be early up."

P. 67, l. 3. and merry too] 1676 bas: "and as merry as beggars."

P. 79, l. 22. and a good book lost] 1676 adds:

"VENATOR. Aye, and a good Trout too.

PISCATOR. Nay, the Trout is not lost; for pray take notice, no man can lose what he never had."

P. 89, l. 12. Clora] 1676 bas: "Kenna. . . ."

P. 91, l. 25. and none] 1676 has: "and so loud that not one. . . ."

P. 91, l. 32. at night] 1676 adds: "for he was an upright judge. . . ."

P. 93, l. 26. belief] 1676 adds: "And to make the wonder seem yet less that hares change sexes, note that Dr. Mer. Casaubon affirms, in his book of credible and incredible things, that Gaspar Peucerus, a learned physician, rells us of a people that once a year turn wolves, partly in shape, and partly in conditions."

P. 94, l. 35. colour] 1676 adds: "and at the snap. . . ."

CHAPTER VI

P. 98, l. 1. a Grayling] 1676 bas: "an Umber or Grayling. . . ."

P. 98, l. 27. fishes in Trent] 1676 has: "fishes in the delicate river Dove, and in Trent. . . ."

CHAPTER VII

P. 99, l. 26. gristle] 1676 adds: "which shows him to be kipper. . . ."

P. 100, l. 22. friend] 1676 adds: "as he tells it you, in his Polyalbion. . . ."

P. 101, l. 5. after the verses] 1676 adds: "This Michael Drayton tells you of this leap or somersault of the Salmon."

P. 102, l. 20. fresh Moss] 1676 adds: "and some advise to put camphire into it."

P. 103, l. 11. bear] 1676 adds: "and, doubtless, can more probably smell. . . ."

CHAPTER VIII

P. 106, l. 3. poison] 1676 adds: "And he has a strange heat, that though it appear to us to be cold, can yet digest or put over any fish flesh, by degrees, without being sick."

P. 109, l. 2. living bait] 1676 adds: "though a dead one may catch..."
P. 113, l. 20. for him] 1676 adds: "and to dress him, but not till he is caught."

CHAPTER IX

P.115, l. 33. devoured] 1676 adds: "And a person of honour, now living in Worcestershire (Mr. Fr. Ru.) assured me he had seen a necklace or collar of tadpoles hang like a chain or necklace of beads about a Pike's neck, and to kill him; whether it were for meat or malice, must be to me a question."

P. 120, l. 9. serve it up] 1676 adds: "And much good do you!"

CHAPTER X

P. 120, l. 33. warm] 1676 adds: "and fresh water got into the pond, he affirms..."

P. 124, l. 30. out of the water] 1676 adds: "at his appearance. . . ."

CHAPTER XIII

P.131, l. 3. Queen of pleasure] 1676 bas: "queen of palate-pleasure..."

P. 132, l. 2. by the overflowing] 1676 bas: "by the sun's heat when it shines upon the overflowing..."

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P. 135, l. 30. great patience] 1676 bas: "patient hearing this long direction. . . ."

P. 136, l. 9. sauce S.F.] 1676 adds: "When I go to dress an Eel thus, I wish he were as long and big as that which was caught in Peterbotough river in the year 1667; which was a yard and three-quarters long. If you will not believe me, then go and see at one of the coffee-houses in King Street in Westminster."

CHAPTER XVI

P. 151, l. 9. after the verses 1676 adds:

"VENATOR. And the repetition of these last verses of music have called to my memory what Mr. Ed. Waller, a lover of the angle, says of love and music:

Whilst I listen to thy voice, Chloris! I feel my heart decay; That powerful voice Calls my fleeting soul away: Oh! suppress that magic sound, Which destroys without a wound.

Peace, Chloris! peace, or singing die, That together you and I To Heaven may go; For all we know Of what the blessed do above, Is, that they sing, and that they love."

P. 151, l. 11. seasonably] 1676 adds: "and we thank you heartily."

CHAPTER XVII

P. 153, l. 4. Derbysbire] 1676 adds: "for the waters there are clear to an extremity."

P. 154, l. 31. Carp] 1676 adds: "or indeed for almost any fish."

P. 156, l. 16. reveal it] 1676 adds: "But let me nevertheless tell you, that

camphire put with moss into your worm-bag with your worms, makes them (if many anglers be not very much mistaken) a tempting bait, and the angler more fortunate."

P. 156, l. 22. will be a part] 1676 bas: "will prove a part, and but a part. . . ."

P. 156, l. 31. either to Charles Brandons . . . the Nation affords: they be all three I 1676 has instead: "either to Mr. Margrave, who dwells amongst the booksellers in St. Paul's Churchyard, or to Mr. John Stubs, near to the Swan in Golding Lane: they be both. . . ."

P. 157, l. 9. Charls Brandons] 1676 bas: "...."

P. 157, l. 31. baited with it] 1676 adds: "And you may also note, that the spawn of most fish is a very tempting bait, being a little hardened on a warm tile and cut into fit pieces. Nay, mulberries, and those black-berries which grow upon briers, be good baits for Chubs or Carps: with these many have been taken in ponds, and in some rivers where such trees have grown near the water, and the fruit customarily dropped into it. And there be a hundred other baits, more than can be well named, which, by constant baiting the water, will become a tempting bait for any fish in it."

P. 159, l. 11. a hole] 1676 bas: "any great still hole. . . ."

P. 159, l. 18. be cleft] 1676 has: "be a little hazel or willow cleft. . . ."

CHAPTER XVIII

P. 160, l. 19. taken out] 1676 adds: "and not washed after. . . ."

P. 160, l. 21. Tansie] 1676 adds: "thus used they make a dainty dish of meat."

P. 162, l. 4. Summer birds] 1676 bas: "half-year birds. . . ."

CHAPTER XIX

P. 165, l. 17. one] 1676 bas: "one strange fish. . . ."

P.165, l. 34. strange Beasts] 1676 bas: "such strange fish and beasts. . . . "

VARIANTS OF 1676

CHAPTER XX

P. 167, l. 2. Tench] 1676 adds: "when 'tis left to the mercy of ducks or vermin."

P. 167, l. 24. moneths] 1676 adds: "if the pond be clean."

CHAPTER XXI

P.169, l. 25. not break ... all together] 1676 has: "break altogether, which hairs of an unequal bigness never do, but break singly, and so deceive the angler that trusts to them."

P. 171, l. 12. lay on a second 1676 adds: "Well, scholar, having now taught you to paint your rod, and we having still a mile to Tottenham High Cross, I will, as we walk towards it, in the cool shade of this sweet honeysuckle hedge, mention to you some of the thoughts and joys that have possessed my soul since we two met together. And these thoughts shall be told you, that you also may join with me in thankfulness to the Giver of every good and perfect gift, for our happiness. And that our present happiness may appear to be the greater, and we the more thankful for it, I will beg you to consider with me, how many do, even at this very time, lie under the torment of the stone, the gout, the toothache; and this we are free from. And every misery that I miss is a new mercy; and therefore let us be thankful. There have been, since we met, others that have met disasters of broken limbs: some have been blasted, others thunderstrucken: and we have been freed from these, and all those many other miseries that threaten human nature; let us therefore rejoice and be thankful. Nav. which is a far greater mercy, we are free from the unsupportable burthen of an accusing, tormenting conscience; a misery that none can bear: and therefore let us praise Him for His preventing grace, and say, Every misery that I miss is a new mercy. Nay, let me tell you, there be many that have forty times our estates, that would give the greatest part of it to be healthful and cheerful like us; who, with the expense of a little money, have eat and drank, and laughed, and angled, and sung, and slept securely; and rose next day and cast away care, and sung, and laughed, and angled again; which are blessings rich men cannot pur-

chase with all their money. Let me tell you, scholar, I have a rich neighbour that is always so busy that he has no leisure to laugh; the whole business of his life is to get money, and more money, that he may still get more and more money; he is still drudging on, and says, that Solomon says, 'The diligent hand maketh rich;' and 'tis true indeed: but he considers not that 'tis not in the power of riches to make a man happy: for it was wisely said, by a man of great observation, that there be as many miseries beyond riches as on this side them. And yet God deliver us from pinching poverty; and grant, that having a competency, we may be content and thankful. Let not us repine, or so much as think the gifts of God unequally dealt, if we see another abound with riches; when, as God knows, the cares that are the keys that keep those riches hang often so heavily at the rich man's girdle, that they clog him with weary days and restless nights, even when others sleep quietly. We see but the outside of the rich man's happiness: few consider him to be like the silk worm, that, when she seems to play, is, at the very same time, spinning her own bowels, and consuming herself. And this many rich men do, loading themselves with corroding cares, to keep what they have, probably, unconscionably got. Let us therefore be thankful for health and a competence; and above all, for a quiet conscience.

Let me tell you, scholar, that Diogenes walked on a day, with his friend, to see a country fair; where he saw ribbons, and looking-glasses, and nut-crackers, and fiddles, and hobby-horses, and many other gim-cracks; and, having observed them, and all the other finnimbruns that make a complete country-fair, he said to his friend, 'Lord, how many things are there in this world of which Diogenes hath no need!' And truly it is so, or might be so, with very many who wex and toil themselves to get what they have no need of. Can any man charge God, that He hath not given him enough to make his life happy? No, doubtless; for nature is content with a little. And yet you shall hardly meet with a man that complains not of some want; though he indeed wants nothing but his will; it may be, nothing but his will of his poor neighbour, for not worshipping, or not flattering him; and thus, when we might be happy and quiet, we create trouble to ourselves. I have

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heard of a man that was angry with himself because he was no taller: and of a woman that broke her looking-glass because it would not show her face to be as young and handsome as her next neighbour's was. And I knew another to whom God had given health and plenty; but a wife that nature had made peevish, and her husband's riches had made purse-proud; and must, because she was rich, and for no other virtue, sit in the highest pew in the church; which being denied her. she engaged her husband into a contention for it, and at last into a law-suit with a dogged neighbour who was as rich as he, and had a wife as peevish and purse proud as the other: and this law-suit begot higher oppositions, and actionable words, and more vexations and law-suits; for you must remember that both were rich and must therefore have their wills. Well, this wilful, purse-proud law-suit lasted during the life of the first husband; after which his wife vexed and chid, and chid and vexed, till she also chid and vexed herself into her grave; and so the wealth of these poor rich people was cursed into a punishment, because they wanted meek and thankful hearts: for those only can make us happy. I knew a man that had health and riches; and several houses all beautiful and ready furnished, and would often trouble himself and family to be removing from one house to another: and being asked by a friend why he removed so often from one house to another, replied, It was to find content in some one of them. But his friend, knowing his temper, told him, If he would find content in any of his houses, he must leave himself behind him; for content will never dwell but in a meek and quiet soul. And this may appear, if we read and consider what our Saviour says in St. Matthew's Gospel; for He there says: 'Blessed be the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy. Blessed be the pure in heart, for they shall see God. Blessed be the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.' And-'Blessed be the meek, for they shall possess the earth.' Not that the meek shall not also obtain mercy, and see God, and be comforted, and at last come to the kingdom of heaven: but in the meantime, he, and he only, possesses the earth, as he goes toward that kingdom of heaven, by being humble and cheerful, and content with what his good God has allotted him. He has no turbulent, repining, vexatious thoughts that he deserves

better; nor is vexed when he sees others possessed of more honour or more riches than his wise God has allotted for his share: but he possesses what he has with a meek and contented quietness, such a quietness as makes his very dreams pleasing both to God and himself.

My honest scholar, all this is told to incline you to thankfulness; and to incline you the more, let me tell you, that though the prophet David was guilty of murder and adultery, and many other of the most deadly sins, yet he was said to be a man after God's own heart, because he abounded more with thankfulness than any other that is mentioned in Holy Scripture, as may appear in his Book of Psalms; where there is such a commixture of his confessing of his sins and unworthiness, and such thankfulness for God's pardon and mercies, as did make him to be accounted, even by God Himself, to be a man after His own heart: and let us, in that, labour to be as like him as we can; let not the blessings we receive daily from God make us not to value, or not praise Him because they be common; let not us forget to praise Him for the innocent mirth and pleasure we have met with since we met together. What would a blind man give to see the pleasant rivers, and meadows. and flowers, and fountains, that we have met with since we met too gether? I have been told, that if a man that was born blind could obtain to have his sight for but only one hour during his whole life, and should, at the first opening of his eyes, fix his sight upon the sun when it was in his full glory, either at the rising or setting of it, he would be so transported and amazed, and so admire the glory of it, that he would not willingly turn his eyes from that first ravishing object, to behold all the other various beauties this world could present to him. And this, and many other like blessings, we enjoy daily. And for most of them, because they be so common, most men forget to pay their praises: but let not us; because it is a sacrifice so pleasing to him that made that sun and us, and still protects us, and gives us flowers, and showers, and stomachs, and meat, and content, and leisure to go afishing.

Well, scholar, I have almost tired myself, and, I fear, more than almost tired you. But I now see Tottenham High Cross; and our short walk thither shall put a period to my too long discourse; in which my

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meaning was, and is, to plant that in your mind with which I labour to possess my own soul; that is, a meek and thankful heart. And to that end I have showed you, that riches without them do not make any man happy. But let me tell you, that riches with them remove many fears and cares. And therefore my advice is, that you endeavour to be honestly rich, or contentedly poor: but be sure that your riches be justly got, or you spoil all. For it is well said by Caussin, 'He that loses his conscience has nothing left that is worth keeping.' Therefore be sure you look to that. And, in the next place, look to your health: and if you have it, praise God, and value it next to a good conscience; for health is the second blessing that we mortals are capable of; a blessing that money cannot buy: and therefore value it, and be thankful for it. As for money, which may be said to be the third blessing, neglect it not: but note, that there is no necessity of being rich; for I told you there be as many miseries beyond riches, as on this side them: and if you have a competence, enjoy it with a meek, cheerful, thankful heart. I will tell you, scholar, I have heard a grave divine say, that God has two dwellings, one in heaven, and the other in a meek and thankful heart. Which Almighty God grant to me, and to my honest scholar: and so you are welcome to Tottenham High Cross."

P. 171, l. 13. Well, Scholar . . . I will] 1676 bas instead:

"VENATOR. Well, master, I thank you for all your good directions; but for none more than this last, of thankfulness, which I hope I shall never forget. And pray let's now rest ourselves in this sweet shady arbour, which nature herself has woven with her own fine fingers; 'tis such a contexture of woodbines, sweetbriar, jessamine, and myrtle; and so interwoven, as will secure us both from the sun's violent heat, and from the approaching shower. And being set down will. . . "

P. 175, l. 23. rested themselves from] 1676 bas: "rested and enjoyed themselves free from. . . ."

P. 176, l. 20. and all that love to be quiet] 1676 has instead: "and dare trust in His providence; and be quiet. . . ."

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FROM THE FOURTH EDITION, WITH ADDITIONS

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FINIS

THE LIVES

OF SIR HENRY WOTTON

MR. RICHARD HOOKER

MR. GEORGE HERBERT

DR. SANDERSON





THE EPISTLE DEDICATORY

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE AND REVEREND FATHER IN GOD, GEORGE LORD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER, AND PRELATE OF

THE MOST NOBLE ORDER OF

THE GARTER

My Lord,

[1670]

I DID some years past, present You with a plain relation of the Life of Mr. Richard Hooker, that humble man, to whose memory, Princes and the most learned of this Nation have paid a reverence at the mention of his Name.—And, now, with Mr. Hookers I present You also, the Life of that pattern of primitive Piety, Mr. George Herbert; and, with his, the Life of Dr. Donne, and your friend Sir Henry Wotton, all reprinted.—The two first were written under your roof: for which reason, if they were worth it, you might justly challenge a Dedication: And indeed, so you might of Dr. Donnes, and Sir Henry Wottons: because, if I hab been fit for this Undertaking, it would not have been by acquir'd Learning or Study; but, by the advantage of forty years friendship, and thereby with hearing and discoursing with Your Lordship, that hath inabled me to make the Relation of these Lives passable (if they prove so) in an eloquent and captious Age.

And indeed, my Lord, though, these relations be well-meant Sacrifices to the Memory of these Worthy men: yet, I have so little Confidence in my performance, that I beg pardon for superscribing your Name to them; And, desire all that know your Lordship, to apprehend this not as a Dedication, (at least, by which you receive any addition of Honour;) bur rather, as an humble, and a more publick acknowledgment of your long continued, and, your now daily Favours to

My Lord

Your most affectionate

most humble Servant

Izaak Walton.

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TO THE READER &

Though, the several Introductions to these several Lives, have partly declared the reasons how, and why I undertook them: yet, since they are come to be teview'd, and, augmented, and reprinted; and, the four are now become one Book; I desire leave to inform you that shall become my Reader, that when I sometime look back upon my education and mean abilities, 'tis not without some little wonder at my self, that I am come to be publickly in print. And, though I have in those Introductions declar'd some of the accidental reasons that occasioned me to be so: yet, let me add this to what is there said: that, by my undertaking to collect some notes for Sir Henry Wottons writing the Life of Dr. Donne, and by Sir Henry's dying before be perform'd it, I became like those men that enter easily into a Law-sute, or a quarrel, and having begun, cannot make a fair retreat and be quiet, when they desire it. - And really. after such a manner, I became ingag'd, into a necessity of writing the Life of Dr. Donne: Contrary, to my first Intentions: And that begot a like necessity of writing the Life of his and my ever-honoured friend, Sir Henry Wotton. And, having writ these two lives; I lay quiet twenty years, without a thought of either troubling my self or others, by any new ingagement in this kind, for I thought I knew my unfitness. But, about that time, Dr. Gauden (then Lord Bishop of Exeter) publisht the Life of Mr. Richard Hooker, (so he called it) with so many dangerous mistakes, both of him and his Books, that discoursing of them with his Grace, Gilbert that now is Lord Archbishop of Canterbury; he, injoined me to examine some Circumstances, and then rectifie the Bishops mistakes, by giving the World a fuller and a truer account of Mr. Hooker and his Books, then that Bishop had done, and, I know I have done so. And, let me tell the Reader, that till his Grace had laid this injunction upon me, I could not admit a thought of any fitness in me to undertake it: but, when he had twice injoin'd me to it, I then declin'd my own, and trusted his judgment, and submitted to his Commands: concluding, that if I did not, I could not forbear accusing my self of disobedience: And, indeed of Ingratitude for his many favours. Thus I became ingaged into the third Life.

For the Life of that great example of holiness Mr. George Herbert, I profess it to be so far a Free-will-offering, that it was writ, chiefly to please

THE EPISTLE TO THE READER

my self: but, yet, not without some respect to posterity; for though he was not a man that the next age can forget; yet, many of his particular acts and vertues might have been neglected, or lost, if I had not collected and presented them to the Imitation of those that shall succeed us: for I humbly conceive writing to be both a safer and truer preserver of mens Vertuous actions, then tradition, especially as 'tis manag' din this age. And I am also to tell the Reader, that though this Life of Mr. Herbert was not by me writ in baste, yet, I intended it a Review, before it should be made publick: but, that was not allowed me, by reason of my absence from London when twas printing; so that the Reader may fluid in it, some mittakes, some double expressions, and some not very proper, and some that might have been contracted, and, some faults that are not justify chargable upon me but the Printer: and yet I hope none so great, as may not by this Confession purchase pardon, from a good natur'd Reader.

And now, I wish that as that learned Jew, Josephus and others, so these men had also writ their own lives: but since 'tis not the fashion of these times, I wish their relations or friends would do it for them, before delays make it too difficult. And I desire this the more: because 'tis an honour due to the dead, and a generous debt due to those that shall live, and succeed us: and, would to them prove both a content and satisfaction. For, when the next age shall (as this do's) admire the Learning and clear Reason which that excellent Casuist Doctor Sanderson (the late Bishop of Lincoln) bath demonstrated in his Sermons and other writings; who, if they love vertue, would not rejoice to know that this good man was as remarkable for the meekness and innocence of his life, as for his great and useful learning; and indeed, as remarkable for his Fortitude, in his long and patient suffering (under them, that then call'd themselves the Godly Party) for that Doctrine, which he had preach'd and printed, in the happy days of the Nations and the Churches peace: And, who would not be content to have the like account of Doctor Field, that great Schoolman, and others of noted learning? And, though I cannot hope, that my example or reason can persuade to this undertaking, yet, I please my self, that I shall conclude my Preface, with wishing that it were so.

[1670] I.W.

To my old, and most worthy Friend, Mr. Izaak Walton, on his Life of Dr. Donne, &c.

*

When to a Nations loss, the Vertuous dye, There's justly due, from every hand, and eye, That can, or write, or weep, an Elegy.

Which though it be the poorest, cheapest way, The Debt we owe, great merits to defray, Yet, it is almost all, that most men pay.

And, these are Monuments of so short date, That, with their birth, they oft receive their fate: Dying, with those, whom they would celebrate.

And, though to Verse, great reverence is due; Yet, what most Poets write, proves so untrue, It renders truth in Verse, suspected too.

Something more sacred then, and more intire, The memories of Vertuous men require, Then what may with their Funeral-torch expire.

This, History can give: to which alone, The priviledge to mate oblivion Is granted, when deny'd to brass and stone.

Wherein, my Friend, you have a hand so sure, Your truths so candid are, your stile so pure, That what you write, may Envies search endure,

Your Pen, disdaining to be bril'd or prest, Flows without vanity, or interest: A Vertue, with which few good Pens are blest. 204

COMMENDATORY POEM

How bappy was my Father then! to see Those men he lov'd, by him he lov'd, to he Rescu'd from frailties, and mortality.

Wotton and Donne, to whom his soul was knit: Those twins of Vertue, Eloquence, and Wit, He saw, in Fames eternal Annals writ.

Where one, has fortunately found a place, More faithful to him, than his ¹Marble was: Which eating age, nor fire, shall e're deface.

A Monument! that, as it has, shall last And prove a Monument to that defac't: It self, but with the world, not to be raz'd,

And, even, in their flowry Characters, My Fathers grave, part of your Friendship shares: For, you have honour'd his in strewing theirs.

Thus, by an office though particular, Vertues whole Common-weal obliged are: For, in a vertuous act, all good men share.

And, by this act, the world is taught to know, That, the true friendship we to merit owe, Is not discharg'd by complement, and show.

But, yours is Friendship of so pure a kind, From all mean ends, and interest so refin'd, It ought to be, a pattern to mankind.

For, whereas, most mens friendships here beneath, Do perish with their friends expiring breath, Yours, proves a Friendship living after death.

¹ His Monument in St. Pauls Church, before the late dreadful fire, 666.

THE LIVES

By which, the generous Wotton, reverend Donne, Soft Herbert, and, the Churches Champion Hooker, are rescued from oblivion.

For, though they each of them, his time so spent, As rais'd unto himself, a Monument With which Ambition might rest well content!

Yet, their great works, though they can never dye: And are in truth superlatively high, Are no just scale, to take their vertues by.

Because, they show not how th' Almighties grace, By various, and more admirable ways, Brought them to be the Organs of his praise.

But, what their humble modesty wou'd hide, And was by any other means deny'd, Is by your love, and diligence supply'd.

Wotton, a nobler soul was never bred! You, by your narratives most even thred, Through all his Laborinths of Life have led.

Through his degrees of Honour, and of Arts, Brought him, secure from Envies venom'd darts; Which are still level'd, at the greatest parts.

Through all th' employments of his Wit, and Spirit: Whose great effects, these kingdoms still inherit; The trials then, now trophies of his merit.

Nay, through disgrace; which oft the worthiest have: Through all state-tempests, through each wind, and wave, And laid him in an honourable grave.

And yours, and the whole Worlds beloved Donne, When he, a long, and wild carere had run To the Meridian of his glorious Sun:

COMMENDATORY POEM

And, being then an object of much ruth, Led on, by vanities, error, and youth, Was long e're he did find the way to truth;

By the same Clew, after his youthful swing, To serve at his Gods Altar here you bring: Where, an once-wanton-Muse, doth Anthems sing.

And, though by Gods most powerful grace alone, His heart was setled in Religion: Yet, 'tis by you, we know how it was done.

And know, that having crucifi'd vanities, And fixt his hope, he clos'd up his own eyes: And then, your Friend, a Saint and Preacher dyes.

The meek, and Learned Hooket too, almost I'th Churches ruines over-whelm'd and lost, Is, by your Pen, recover'd from his dust.

And Herbett: he, whose education, Manners, and parts, by high applauses blown, Was deeply tainted with Ambition;

And fitted for a Court, made that his aim: At last, without regard to Birth or Name, For a poor Country-Cure, does all disclaim.

Where, with a soul compos'd of Harmonies, Like a sweet Swan, he warbles, as he dies His makers praise, and his own obsequies.

All this you tell us, with so good success, That our oblig'd posterity shall profess, T'have been your Friend, was a great bappiness.

And now!

When many worthier, would be proud T'appear before you, if they were allow'd, I take up room enough to serve a croud.

THE LIVES

Where, to commend what you have choicely writ, Both my poor testimony, and my wit, Are equally invalid, and unfit:

Yet this, and much more, is most justly due: Were what I write, as Elegant as true, To the best friend, I now, or ever knew.

But, my dear friend, 'tis so, that you and I, By a condition of mortality, With all this great, and more proud world, must dye;

In which estate, I ask no more of Fame, Nor other Monument of Honour claim, Then that, of your true Friend, t'advance my name.

And, if your many merits, shall have bred An abler Pen, to write your Life when dead; I think, an honester cannot be read.

Jan. 17. 1672.

Charles Cotton.

THE COPY of a letter writ to Mr. Izaak Walton by Doctor King, Lord Bishop of Chichester.

A PARTO

Honest Izaak,

THOUGH a Familiarity of more then Forty years continuance, and the constant experience of your Love even in the worst of the late sad times, be sufficient to endear our Friendship; yet, I must confess my Affection much improved, not only by Evidences of private Respect to many that know and love you, but by your new Demonstration of a publick Spirit, testified in a diligent, true, and useful Collection of so many Material Passages as you have now afforded me in the Life of Venerable Mr. Hooker; of which, since desired by such a Friend as your self, I shall not deny to give the Testimony of what I know concerning him and his learned Books: but, shall first here take a fair occasion to tell you, that you have been happy in choosing to write the Lives of three such Persons, as Posterily that just cause to shoonyt, which they will do the more for the true Relation of them by your happy Pen; of all which I shall give you my unfeigned Censure.

I shall begin with my most dear and incomparable Friend Dr. Donne, late Dean of St. Pauls Church, who not only trusted me as his Executor, but three days before his death delivered into my hands those excellent Sermons of his now made publick: professing before Dr. Winniff, Dr. Monford, and, I think, your self then present at his bed side, that it was by my restless importunity, that he had prepared them for the Press; together with which (as his best Legacy) he gave me all his Sermon-Notes, and his other Papers, containing an Extract of near Fifteen hundred Authors. How these were got out of my hands, you, who were the Messenger for them, and how lost both to me and your self, is not now seasonable to complain: but, since they did miscarry, I am glad that the general Demonstration of his Worth was so fairly preserved, and represented to the World by your Pen in the History of his Life: indeed so well, that beside others, the best Critick of our later time (Mr. John Hales of Eaton Colledge) affirm'd to me, He bad not seen a Life written with more advantage to the Subject, or more reputation to the Writer, then that of Dr. Donnes.

After the performance of this task for Dr. Donne, you undertook the like office for our Friend Sir Henry Wotton: betwirt which two there was a Friendship begun in Oxford, continued in their various Travels, and more confirmed in the religious Friendship of Age: and doubtless this excellent Person had writ the Life of Dr. Dome, if Death had not prevented him; by which means his and your Pre-collections for that Work fell to the happy Menage of your Pen: a Work which you would have declined, if imperious Persuasions had not been stronger then your modest Resolutions against it. And I am thus far glad, that the first Life was so imposed upon you, because it gave an unavoidable Cause of Writing the second: if not? it is too probable, we had wanted both, which had been a prejudice to all Lovers of Honour and ingenious Learning. And let me not leave my Friend Sir Henry, without this Testimony added to yours; That he was a man of as Floird a Wit and as Elegant a Pen, as any former (or ours which in that kind is a most excellent) Age hath ever produced.

And now having made this voluntary Observation of our two deceased Friends, I proceed to satisfie your desire concerning what I know and believe of the ever-memorable Mr. Hooker, who was Schismatic corum Malleus, so great a Champion for the Church of Englands Rights against the Factious Torrent of Separatists, that then ran high against Church-Discipline: and in his unanswerable Books continues to be so against the unquiet Disciples of their Schism, which now under other Names still carry on their Design; and, who (as the proper Heirs of their Irrational Zeal) would again rake into the scarce closed

Wounds of a newly bleeding State and Church.

And first, though I dare not say that I knew Mr. Hooker; yet, as our Ecclesiastical History reports to the honour of S. Ignatius, that he lived in the time of St. John, and hod seen him in his Childbodf; so, I also joy that in my Minority I have often seen Mr. Hooker with my Father, who was after Bishop of London; from whom, and others, at that time, I have heard most of the material passages which you relate in the History of his Life; and, from my Father received such a Character of his Learning, Humility, and other Virtues, that like Jewels of unvaluable price, they still cast such a lustre as Envy or the Rust of Time shall never darken.

From my Father I have also heard all the Circumstances of the Plot to defame him; and how Sir Edwin Sandys outwritted his Accusers, and gained their Confession; and I could give an account of each particular of that Plot, but that I judge it fitter to be forgotten, and rot in

the same grave with the malicious Authors.

I may not omit to declare, that my Fathers Knowledge of Mr. Hooker was occasioned by the Learned Dr. John Spenter, who after the Death of Mr. Hooker was so careful to preserve his unvaluable Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth Books of ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY, and his other Writings, that he procured Henry Jackson, then of Corpus Christi Colledge, to transcribe for him all Mr. Hookers remaining written

BISHOP HENRY KING'S LETTER

Papers; many of which were imperfect, for his Study had been rifled, or worse used, by Mr. Chark, and another, of Principles too like his: but these Papers were endeavoured to be compleated by his dear friend Dr. Spencer, who bequeathed them as a precious Legacy to my Father, after whose Death they rested in my hand, till Dr. Abbot, then Archbishop of Canterbury, commanded them out of my custody, by authorizing Dr. John Barkeham to require, and bring them to him to his Palace in Lambeth; at which time, I have heard, they were put into the Bishops Library, and that they remained there till the Martyrdom of Archbishop Laud; and were then by the Brethren of that Faction given with all the Library to Hugh Peters, as a Reward for his remarkable Service in those sad times of the Churches Confusion; and though they could hardly fall into a fouler hand; yet, there wanted not other Endeavors to corrupt and make them speak that Language for which the Faction then fought, which indeed was To subject the Soveraign Power to the People.

But I need not strive to vindicate Mr. Hooker in this particular; his known Loyalty to his Prince whilets he lived, the Sorrow expressed by Kring James at his Death, he Value our late Soveraign (of ever-blessed Memory) put upon his Works, and now, the singular Character of his Worth by you given in the passages of his Life, especially in your Appendix to it, do sufficiently clear him from that Imputation: and I am glad you mention how much value Thomas Stapleton, Pope Clement the VIII. and other Eminent men of the Romish Perswasion, have put upon his Books: having been told the same in my Youth by

Persons of worth that have travelled Italy.

Lastly, I must again congratulate this Undertaking of yours, as now more proper to you then any other person, by reason of your long Knowledge and Alliance to the worthy Family of the Cranmers (my old Friends also) who have been men of noted Wisdom, especially Mr. George Cranmer, whose Prudence added to that of Sir Edwin Sandys, proved very useful in the Completing of Mr. Hookers matchless Books; one of their Letters I herewith send you, to make use of, if you think fit. And let me say further; you merit much from many of Mr. Hookers best Friends then living; namely, from the ever renowned Archbishop Whitgift, of whose incomparable Worth, with the Character of the Times, you have given us a more short and significant Account then I have received from any other Pen. You have done much for the amongst the surviving Monuments of whose Learning (give me leave to tell you so) two are omitted; his Edition of Euclid, but especially his Translation of King James his Apologie for the Oath of Allegeance into elegant Latine; which flying in that dress as far as Rome, was by the

THE LIVES

Pope and Conclave sent to Salamanca unto Franciscus Suarez (then residing there as President of that Colledge) with a Command to answer it. And 'tis worth noting, that when he had perfected the Work. which he calls Defensio Fidei Catholica, it was transmitted to Rome for a view of the Inquisitors: who according to their custom blotted out what they pleased, and (as Mr. Hooker hath been used since his Death) added whatsoever might advance the Popes Supremacy, or carry on their own Interest: commonly coupling together Deponere & Occidere, the Deposing, and then Killing of Princes. Which cruel and unchristian Language Mr. John Saltkel, the Amanuensis to Suarez, when he wrote that answer (but since a Convert and living long in my Fathers house) often professed, the good Old man (whose Piety and Charity Mr. Saltkel magnified much) not only disavowed, but detested. Not to trouble you further; your Reader (if according to your desire, my Approbation of your Work carries any weight) will herefind many just Reasons to thank you for it; and possibly for this Circumstance here mentioned (not known to many) may happily apprehend one to thank him, who heartily wishes your happiness, and is unfainedly,

Chichester, Novem. 17. 1664.

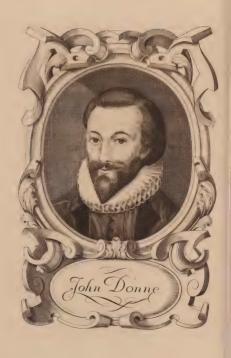
Sir,

Your ever-faithful and

Henry Chichester.

affectionate old Friend.





the first service, what say the ball and bracks and in our the second secon

themselves from worse then severe censures. the supplication is pro- written on the same for the same of



THE LIFE OF

JOHN DONNE

DR. IN DIVINITY LATE DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S CHURCH LONDON

TO MY NOBLE AND HONOURED FRIEND SIR ROBERT HOLT OF ASTON, IN THE COUNTY OF WARWICK,

BARONET

*

SIR,

WHEN this relation of the life of Doctor Dome was first made publick, it had besides the approbation of our late learned & eloquent King, a conjunction with the Author's most excellent Sermons to support it; and thus it lay some time fortified against prejudice; and those passions that are by busie and malicious men too freely vented against the dead.

And yet, now, after almost twenty yeares, when though the memory of Dr. Donne himself, must not, cannot die, so long as men speak English; yet when I thought Time had made this relation of him so like my self, as to become useless to the world, and content to be forgotten; I find that a retreat into a desired privacy, will not be afforded; for the Printers will again expose it and me to publick exceptions; and without those supports, which we first had and needed, and in an Age too, in which Truth & Innocence have not beene able to defend themselves from worse then severe censures.

This I foresaw, and Nature teaching me selfe-preservation, and my long experience of your abilities assuring me that in you it may be found: to you, Sir, do I make mine addresses for an umbrage and protection: and I make it with so much humble boldnesse, as to say twee degenerous in you not to afford it.

My desire is to inform and assure you, that shall become my Reader, that in that part of this following discourse, which is onely narration, I either speak my own knowledge, or from the testimony of such as dare do any thing, rather than speak an untruth.

And for that part of it which is my own observation or opinion, if I had a power I would not use it to force any mans assent, but leave him a liberty to dis-helieve what his own reason inclines him to.

Next, I am to inform you, that whereas Dr. Donne's life was formerly printed with his Sermons, and then had the same Preface or Introduction to it; I have not omitted it new, because I have no such confidence in what I have done, as to appear without an apology for my undertaking it.

I have said all when I have wished happinesse to my Reader.

I.W.

[1658]

THE INTRODUCTION &

IF that great Master of Language and Art, Sir Henry Wotton, the late Provost of Eaton Colledge, had liv'd to see the Publication of these Sermons, be had presented the World with the Authors Life exactly written; And, 'twas pity he did not; for it was a work worthy his undertaking and he fit to undertake it: betwixt whom, and the Author, there was so mutual a knowledge, and such a friendship contracted in their Youth, as nothing but death could force a separation. And, though their badies were divided, their offictions were not: for that learned Knights lowe followed his Friends fame beyond death and the forgetful grave; which he testified by intreating me, whom he acquainted with his design, to inquire of some particulars that concern'd it, not doubting but my knowledge of the Author, and love to his memory, might make my diligence useful: I did most gladly undertake the employment, and continued it with great content 'till I bad made my Collection ready to be augmented and compleated by his matchless Pen: but then, Death prevented his intentions.

When I heard that sad news, and heard also that these Setmons were to be printed, and want the Authors Life, which I thought to be very remarkable: Indignation or grief (indeed I know not which) transported me so far, that I reviewed my forsaken-Collections, and resolv² the World should see the best plain Picture of the Authors Life that my artless Pensil, guided by the band

of truth, could present to it.

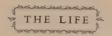
And, If I shall now be demanded as once Pompey's poor bondman was!, (The grateful wretch bad been left alone on the Sea-shore, with the forsaken dead body of his once glorious lord and master: and, was then gathering the scatter'd pieces of an old broken boat to make a funeral pile to burn it, which was the custom of the Romans) who art thou that alone hast the honour to bury the body of Pompey the great? so, who am I that do thus officiously set the Authors memory on fire? I hope the question will prove to bave in it, more of wonder then disdain; But wonder indeed the Reader may, that I who profess my self artless should presume with my faint light to shew forth bis Life whose very name makes it illustrious! but be this to the disadvantage of

¹ Plutark.

the person represented: Certain I am, it is to the advantage of the beholder, who shall here see the Authors Picture in a natural dress, which ought to beget faith in what is spoken: for he that wants skill to deceive, may safely be trusted.

And if the Authors glorious spirit, which now is in Heaven; can have the leasure to look down and see me, the powerst, the meanest of all his friends, in the midst of this officious duty, confident I am, that he will not disdain this well-meant sacrifice to his memory: for, whilst his Conversation made me and many others happy below, I know his Humility and Gentleness was then eminent; and, I have heard Divines say, those Vertues that were but sparks upon Earth, become great and glorious flames in Heaven.

Before I proceed further, I am to intreat the Reader to take notice, that when Doctor Dom's Sermons were first printed, this was then my excuse for daring to write his life; and, I dare not now appear without it.



MASTER John Donne was born in London, in the year 1573. of good and vertuous Parents: and, though his own Learning and other multiplyed merits may justly appear sufficient to dignifie both Himself and his Posterity: yet, the Reader may be pleased to know, that his Father was masculinely and lineally descended from a very antient Family in Wales, where many of his name now live, that deserve and have great reputation in that Countrey.

By his Mother he was descended of the Family of the famous and learned Sir Thomas Moor, sometime Lord Chancellour of England: as also, from that worthy and laborious Judge Rastall, who left Posterity the wast Statutes of the Law of this Nation most exactly abridged.

He had his first breeding in his Fathers house, where a private Tutor had the care of him, until the tenth year of his age; and, in his eleventh year, was sent to the University of Oxford; having at that time a good command both of the French and Latine Tongue. This and some other of his remarkable Abilities, made one then give this censure of him; That this age had brought forth another Picus Mirandula; of whom Story says, That he was rather born, than made wise by study.

There he remained for some years in Hart-Hall, having for the advancement of his studies Tutors of several Sciences to attend and instruct him, till time made him capable, and his learning expressed in publick exercises declared him worthy to receive his first degree in the Schools, which he forbore by advice from his friends, who being for their Religion of the Romish perswasion, were consciously averse to some parts of the Oath that is alwaies tendered at those times; and not to be refused by those that expect the titulary honour of their studies.

About the fourteenth year of his age, he was transplanted from Oxford to Cambridge; where, that he might receive nourishment from both Soils, he staied till his seventeenth year; all which time he was a most laborious Student, often changing his studies, but endeavouring to take no degree, for the reasons formerly mentioned.

About the seventeenth year of his age, he was removed to London, and then admitted into Lincolns-Inne, with an intent to study the Law; where he gave great testimonies of his Wit, his Learning, and of his Improvement in that profession: which never served him for other use than an Ornament and Self-satisfaction.

His Father died before his admission into this Society; and being a Merchant, left him his portion in money (it was 3000 L). His Mother and those to whose care he was committed, were watchful to improve his knowledge, and to that end appointed him Tutors both in the Mathematicks, and in all the other Liberal Sciences, to attend him. But with these Arts they were advised to instil into him particular Principles of the Romish Church; of which those Tutors profest (though secretly) themselves to be members.

They had almost obliged him to their faith; having for their advantage, besides many opportunities, the example of his dear and pious Parents, which was a most powerful perswasion, and did work much upon him, as he professeth in his Preface to his Pseudo-Martyr; a Book of which the Reader shall have some account in what follows.

He was now entered into the eighteenth year of his age; and at that time had betrothed himself to no Religion that might give him any other denomination than a Christian. And Reason, and Piety had both perswaded him, that there could be no such sin as Schism, if an adherence to some visible Church were not necessary.

About the nineteenth year of his age, he, being then unresolv'd what Religion to adhere to, and, considering how much it concern'd his soult to choose the most Orthodox, did therefore (though his youth and health promised him a long life) to rectifie all scruples that might concern that, presently lay aside all study of the Law: and, of all other Sciences that might give him a denomination; and begun seriously to survey, and consider the Body of Divinity, as it was then controverted betwixt the Reformed and the Roman Church. And as Gods blessed Spirit did then awaken bim to the search, and in that industry did never forsake bim, (they be his own words 1) so be calls the same bely Spirit to

witness this Protestation; that, in that disquisition and search, he proceeded with humility and diffidence in himself; and, by that which be took to be the safest way; namely, frequent Prayers, and an indifferent affection to both parties; and indeed, truth had too much light about her to be hid from so sharp an Inquirer; and, he had too much ingenuity, not to acknowledge he had found her.

Being to undertake this search, he believed the Cardinal Bellarmine to be the best defender of the Roman cause, and therefore betook himself to the examination of his Reasons. The Cause was weighty: and wilful delays had been inexcusable both towards God and his own Conscience; he therefore proceeded in this search with all moderate haste, and about the twentieth year of his age, did shew the then Dean of Gloucetter (whose name my memory hath now lost) all the Cardinals works marked with many weighty observations under his own hand; which works were bequeathed by him at his death as a Legacy to a most dear Friend.

About a year following he resolved to travel; and the Earl of Essex going first the Cales, and after the Island voyoges, the first Anno 1596. the second 1597. he took the advantage of those opportunities, waited upon his Lordship, and was an eye-witness of those happy and unhappy employments.

But he returned not back into England, till he had staid some years first in Italy, and then in Spain, where he made many useful observations of those Countreys, their Laws and manner of Government, and returned perfect in their Languages.

The time that he spent in Spain was at his first going into Italy designed for travelling to the Holy Land, and for viewing Jerusalem and the Sepulcher of our Saviour. But at his being in the furthest parts of Italy, the disappointment of Company, or of a safe Convoy, or the uncertainty of returns of Money into those remote parts, denied him that happiness: which he did often occasionally mention with a deploration.

Not long after his return into England, that exemplary Pattern of Gravity and Wisdom, the Lord Elsemore, then Keeper of the Great Seal, and Lord Chancellour of England, taking notice of his Learning, Land

guages, and other Abilities, and much affecting his Person and Behaviour, took him to be his chief Secretary; supposing and intending it to be an Introduction to some more weighty Employment in the State; for which, his Lordship did often protest, he thought him very fit.

Nor did his Lordship in this time of Master Donne's attendance upon him, account him to be so much his Servant, as to forget he was his Friend; and to testifie it, did alwayes use him with much courtesie, appointing him a place at his own Table, to which he esteemed his Company and Discourse to be a great Ornament.

He continued that employment for the space of five years, being daily useful, and not mercenary to his Friends. During which time he (I dare not say unhappily) fell into such a liking, as (with her approbation) increased into a love with a young Gentlewoman that lived in that Family, who was Niece to the Lady Elsemore, and Daughter to Sir George Moor, then Chancellor of the Gatter and Lieutenant of the Tower.

Sir George had some intimation of it, and knowing prevention to be a great part of wisdom, did therefore remove her with much haste from that to his own house at Lothesley, in the County of Surry; but too late, by reason of some faithful promises which were so interchangeably passed, as never to be violated by either party.

These promises were only known to themselves, and the friends of both parties used much diligence, and many arguments to kill or cool their affections to each other: but in vain; for love is a flattering mischief, that hath denied aged and wise men a foresight of those evils that too often prove to be the children of that blind father, a passion! that carries us to commit Errors with as much ease as whirlwinds remove feathers, and begets in us an unwearied industry to the attainment of what we desire. And such an Industry did, notwithstanding much watchfulness against it, bring them secretly together (I forbear to tell the manner how) and at last to a matriage too, without the allowance of those friends, whose approbation always was, and ever will be necessary, to make even a vertuous love become layful.

And that the knowledge of their marriage might not fall, like an un-

expected tempest, on those that were unwilling to have it so: and, that preapprehensions might make it the less enormous, when it was known: it was purposely whispered into the ears of many that it was so, yet by none that could affirm it. But, to put a period to the jealousies of Sir George (Doubt often begetting more restless thoughts then the certain knowledge of what we fear) the news was in favour to Mr. Donne, and with his allowance, made known to Sir George, by his honourable friend and neighbour Henry Earl of Northumberland: but it was to Sir George so immeasurably unwelcome, and, so transported him; that as though his passion of anger and inconsideration, might exceed theirs of love and errour, he presently engaged his Sister the Lady Elsemore, to join with him to procure her Lord to discharge Mr. Donne of the place he held under his Lordship. - This request was followed with violence; and though Sir George were remembred, that Errors might be overpunished, and desired therefore to forbear till second considerations might clear some scruples: yet, he became restless until his suit was granted, and the punishment executed. And though the Lord Chancellor did not at Mr. Donnes dismission, give him such a Commendation as the great Emperour Charles the fifth, did of his Secretary Eraso, when he presented him to his Son and Successor Philip the Second, saying, That in his Eraso, he gave to him a greater gift then all his Estate, and all the Kingdoms which he then resigned to him: yet the Lord Chancellor said, He parted with a Friend; and such a Secretary as was fitter to serve a King then a Subject.

Immediately after his dismission from his service, he sent a sad Letter to his Wife, to acquaint her with it: and, after the subscription of his name, writ,

John Donne, Anne Donne, Un-done,

and God knows it proved too true.

For this bitter Physick of Mr. Donnes dismission was not strong enough to purge out all Sir George's choler; for, he was not satisfied till Mr. Donne and his sometime Compupil in Cambridge that married him; namely, Samuel Brook (who was after Doctor in Divinity, and Master of Trinity Colledge) and his brother Mr. Christopher Brook, sometime Mr. Donnes Chamber-fellow in Lincolns-Inn, who gave Mr. Donne his

Wife, and witnessed the marriage, were all committed, to three several prisons.

Mr. Donne was first enlarged, who neither gave rest to his body or brain, nor to any friend in whom he might hope to have an interest, until he had procured an enlargement for his two imprisoned friends.

He was now at liberty; but his days were still cloudy: and being past these troubles, others did still multiply upon him; for his wife was (to her extream sorrow) detained from him; and though with Jacob he endured not an hard service for her, yet, he lost a good one, and, was forced to make good his title, and to get possession of her by a long and restless suit in Law; which proved troublesome and sadly-chargeable to him, whose youth, and travel, and needless bounty, had brought his estate into a narrow compass.

It is observed, and most truly, that silence and submission are charming qualities, and work most upon passionate men; and it proved so with Sir George; for these, and a general report of Mr. Donnes merits, together with his winning behaviour (which when it would intice, had a strange kind of elegant irresistible art) these, and time had so dispassionated Sir George, that as the world had approved his Daughters choice, so he also could not but see a more then ordinary merit in his new son: and this at last melted him into so much remorse (for Love and Anger are so like Agues, as to have hot and cold fits; and love in Parents, though it may be quenched, yet is easily rekindled, and expires not, till death denies mankind a natural heat) that he laboured his Sons restauration to his place; using to that end, both his own and his Sisters power to her Lord; but with no success; for his Answer was, That though he was unfeignedly sorry for what he had done, yet it was inconsistent with his place and credit, to discharge and readmit servants at the request of passionate petitioners.

Sir Georges endeavour for Mr. Donnes readmission, was by all means to be kept secret (for men do more naturally reluct for errors, then submit to put on those blemishes that attend their visible acknowledgment.) But however it was not long before Sir George appeared to be so far reconciled, as to wish their happiness; and not to deny them his

paternal blessing, but yet, refused to contribute any means that might conduce to their livelyhood.

Mr. Donnes estate was the greatest part spent in many and chargeable Travels, Books and dear-bought Experience: he out of all employment that might yield a support for himself and wife, who had been curiously and plentifully educated; both their natures generous, and accustomed to confer, and not to receive Courtesies: These and other considerations, but chiefly that his wife was to bear a part in his sufferings, surrounded him with many sad thoughts, and some apparent apprehensions of want.

But his sorrows were lessened and his wants prevented by the seasonable courtesie of their noble kinsman Sir Francis Wolly of Pirford in Surry, who intreated them to a cohabitation with him; where they remained with much freedom to themselves, and equal content to him for some years; and, as their charge encreased (she had yearly a child) so did his love and bounty.

It hath been observed by wise and considering men, that Wealth hath seldom been the Portion, and never the Mark to discover good People; but, that Almighty God, who disposeth all things wisely, hath of his abundant goodness denied it (he only knows why) to many, whose minds he hath enriched with the greater Blessings of Knowledge and Vertue, as the fairer Testimonies of his love to Mankind; and this was the present condition of this man of so excellent Erudition and Endowments; whose necessary and daily expences were hardly reconcileable with his uncertain and narrow estate. Which I mention, for that at this time there was a most generous offer made him for the moderating of his worldly cares; the declaration of which shall be the next employment of my Pen.

God hath been so good to his Church, as to afford it in every age some such men to serve at his Altar as have been piously ambitious of doing good to mankind, a disposition that is so like to God himself, that it ows it self only to him who takes a pleasure to behold it in his Creatures. These times he did bless with many such; some of

1 1658.

which still live to be Patterns of Apostolical Charity, and of more than Humane Patience. I have said this, because I have occasion to mention one of them in my following discourse; namely, Dr. Morton, the most laborious and learned Bishop of Durham; one, that God hath blessed with perfect intellectuals, and a chearful heart at the age of 04 years (and is yet living:) one, that in his days of plenty had so large a heart as to use his large Revenue to the encouragement of Learning and Vertue, and is now (be it spoken with sorrow) reduced to a narrow estate, which he embraces without repining; and still shews the beauty of his mind by so liberal a hand, as if this were an age in which to morrow were to care for it self. I have taken a pleasure in giving the Reader a short, but true character of this good man, my friend, from whom I received this following relation .- He sent to Mr. Donne, and intreated to borrow an hour of his time for a Conference the next day. After their meeting, there was not many minutes passed before he spake to Mr. Donne to this purpose; 'Mr. Donne, The occasion of sending for 'you is to propose to you what I have often revolv'd in my own thought 'since I last saw you: which nevertheless, I will not declare but upon 'this condition, that you shall not return me a present answer, but forbear three days, and bestow some part of that time in Fasting and 'Prayer; and after a serious consideration of what I shall propose; then 'return to me with your answer. Deny me not, Mr. Donne; for, it is 'the effect of a true love, which I would gladly pay as a debt due for 'yours to me.

> This request being granted, the Doctor exprest himself thus:

'Mr. Donne, I know your Education and Abilities; I know your expectation of a State-employment; and I know your fitness for it; and
I know too, the many delays and contingencies that attend Courtpromises; and let me tell you that, my love begot by our long friendship, and your merits, hath prompted me to such an inquisition after
your present temporal estate, as makes me no stranger to your necesstites; which I know to be such as your generous spirit could not bear,
'if it were not supported with a pious Patience; you know I have for-

merly perswaded you to wave your Court-hopes, and enter into holy Orders; which I now again perswade you to embrace, with this reason 'added to my former request: The King hath yesterday made me Dean of Glowester, and I am also possessed of a Benefice, the profits of which 'are equal to those of my Deanry; I will think my Deanry enough for my maintenance (who am and resolve to dye a single man) and will 'quit my Benefice, and estate you in it, (which the Patron is willing I shall do) if God shall incline your heart to embrace this motion. Remember, Mr. Donne, no mans Education or Patrs make him too good for this employment, which is to be an Ambassadour for the God of glory, 'that God who by a vile death opened the gates of life to mankind. Make me 'no present answer; but remember your promise, and return to me the 'third day with your Resolution.'

At the hearing of this, Mr. Donne's faint breath and perplext countenance gave a visible testimony of an inward conflict; but he performed his promise and departed without returning an answer till the third day, and then his answer was to this effect;

'My most worthy and most dear friend, since I saw you, I have been 'faithful to my promise, and have also meditated much of your great 'kindness, which hath been such as would exceed even my gratitude; 'but that it cannot do; and more I cannot return you; and I do that with an heart full of Humility and Thanks, though I may not accept 'of your offer; but, Sir, my refusal is not for that I think my self too 'good for that calling, for which Kings, if they think so, are not good enough: nor for that my Education and Learning, though not emi-'nent, may not, being assisted with God's Grace and Humility, render 'me in some measure fit for it: but, I dare make so dear a friend as you 'are my Confessor; some irregularities of my life have been so visible to some men, that though I have, I thank God, made my peace with 'him by penitential resolutions against them, and by the assistance of 'his Grace banish'd them my affections; yet this, which God knows to be so, is not so visible to man, as to free me from their censures, and it may be that sacred calling from a dishonour. And besides; whereas it is determined by the best of Casuists, that Gods Glory should be the first end, and a maintenance the second motive to embrace that calling;

and though each man may propose to himself both together; yet the first may not be put last without a violation of Conscience, which he that searches the heart will judge. And truly my present condition is such, that if I ask my own Conscience, whether it be reconcileable to that rule, it is at this time so perplexed about it, that I can neither give my self nor you an answer. You know, Sir, who sayes, Happy is that man whose Conscience doth not accuse him for that thing which be does. To these I might add other reasons that disswade me; but I crave your favour that I may forbear to express them, and, thankfully decline your offer.

This was his present resolution; but, the heart of man is not in his own keeping; and he was destined to this sacred service by an higher hand; a hand so powerful, as at last forced him to a compliance: of which I shall give the Reader an account before I shall give a rest to my Pen.

Mr. Donne and his wife continued with Sir Francis Wolly till his death: a little before which time, Sir Francis was so happy as to make a perfect reconciliation betwixt Sir George and his forsaken son and daughter; Sir George conditioning by bond, to pay to Mr. Donne 8001. at a certain day, as a portion with his wife, or 201. quarterly for their maintenance: as the interest for it, till the said portion was paid.

Most of those years that he lived with Sir Francis, he studied the Civil and Canon Laurs; in which he acquired such a perfection, as was judged to hold proportion with many who had made that study the employment of their whole life.

Sir Francis being dead, and that happy family dissolved, Mr. Donne took for himself a house in Micham (near to Croydon in Surrey) a place noted for good air, and choice company: there his wife and children remained: and for himself he took lodgings in London, near to White-Hall, whither his friends and occasions drew him very often, and where he was as often visited by many of the Nobility and others of this Nation, who used him in their Counsels of greatest consideration: and with some rewards for his better subsistence.

Nor did our own Nobility only value and favour him, but his acquaintance and friendship was sought for by most Ambassadours of

fortaign Nations, and by many other strangers, whose learning or business occasioned their stay in this Nation.

He was much importuned by many friends to make his constant residence in London, but he still denied it, having setled his dear wife and children at Michom, and near some friends that were bountiful to them and him: for they, God knows, needed it: and that you may the better now judge of the then present Condition of his mind and fortune, I shall present you with an extract collected out of some few of his many Letters.

— And the reason why I did not send an answer to your last weeks letter, was, because it then found me under too great a sadness; and at present it is thus with me: There is not one person, but my self, well of my family: I have already lost half a Child, and with that mitchance of hers, my usife is fallen into such a discomposure, as would afflict her too extreamly, but that the sickness of all her other children stupifies her: of one of which, in good faith, I have not much hope: and these meet with a fortune so ill provided for Psycik, and such telief, that if Cod should case us with burials, I know not how to perform even that: but Lflatter my self with this hope, that I am dying too: for I cannot waste faster then by such griefs. As for.

Aug. 10.

From my hospital at Micham,

JOHN DONNE.

Thus he did bemoan himself: And thus in other letters.

For, we bardly discover a sin, when it is but an omission of some good, and no accusing act; with this or the former, I have often suspected my self to be overtaken; which is, with an over earnest desire of the next lite: and though I know it is not merely a wormines of this, because I had the same desire when I went with the tide, and injoyed fairer hopes then I now do: yet, I doubt worldly troubles have increased it: 'tis now Spring, and all the pleasures of it displace me; every other tree blossoms, and I wither: I grow older and not better; my strength diminisheth and my load grows beavier, and yet, I would fain be or do something; but, that I cannot tell what, is no wonder in this time of my sadness; for, to chuse is to do; but, to be no part of any body, it as to be

nothing: and so I am, and shall so judge my self, unless I could be so incorporated into a part of the world, as by business to contribute some sustentation to the whole. This I made account, I began early when I understood the study of our Laws: but was diverted by leaving that and imbracing the worst voluptuousness, an hydroptique immoderate desire of humane learning and languages: Beautiful ornaments indeed to men of great fortunes; but mine was grown so low as to need an occupation: which I thought I entred well into, when I subjected my self to such a service as I thought might exercise my poor abilities: and there I stumbled, and fell too: and now I am become so little, or such a nothing, that I am not a subject good enough for one of my own letters; -Sir, I fear my present discontent does not proceed from a good root, that I am so well content to be nothing, that is, dead. But, Sir, though my fortune hath made me such, as that I am rather a Sickness or a Disease of the world, than any part of it, and therefore neither love it nor life; yet I would gladly live to become some such thing as you should not repent loving me: Sir, your own Soul cannot be more zealous for your good then I am, and, God, who loves that zeal in me, will not suffer you to doubt it: you would pity me now, if you saw me write, for my pain bath drawn my bead so much awry, and holds it so, that my eye cannot follow my pen. I therefore receive you into my Prayers with mine own weary soul, and Commend my self to yours. I doubt not but next week will bring you good news, for I have either mending or dying on my side: but, If I do continue longer thus, I shall have Comfort in this, That my blessed Saviour in exercising his Justice upon my two worldly parts, my Fortune and my Body, reserves all his Mercy for that which most needs it, my Soul! which is, I doubt, too like a Porter, that is very often near the gate, and yet goes not out. Sir, I profess to you truly, that my lothness to give over writing now, seems to my self a sign that I shall write no more-

Your poor friend, and Gods poor patient Sept. 7. JOHN DONNE.

By this you have seen, a part of the picture of his narrow fortune, and

days to a constant study of some points of Controversie betwixt the English and Roman Church; and especially those of Supremacy and Allegiance: and, to that place and such studies he could willingly have wedded himself during his life but the earnest persyasion of friends became at last to be so powerful, as to cause the removal of himself and family to London, where Sir Robert Drewry, a Gentleman of a very noble estate, and a more liberal mind, assigned him and his wife an useful apartment in his own large house in Drewry lane, and not only rent-free, but was also a cherisher of his studies, and such a friend as sympathized with him and his in all their joy and sorrows.

At this time of Mr. Donne's, and his wives living in Sir Roberts house, the Lord Hay was by King James sent upon a glorious Embassie to the then French King Henry the fourth, and, Sir Robert put on a suddain resolution to accompany him to the French Court, and, to be present at his audience there. And, Sir Robert put on as suddain a resolution, to solicit Mr. Donne to be his Companion in that Journey: And this desire was suddainly made known to his wife, who was then with Child, and otherways under so dangerous a habit of body, as to her health, that she profest an unwillingness to allow him any absence from her; saying, ber divining soul boded ber some ill in his absence; and therefore, desired him not to leave her. This made Mr. Donne lay aside all thoughts of the Journey, and really to resolve against it. But Sir Robert became restless in his perswasions for it; and, Mr. Donne was so generous, as to think he had sold his liberty when he received so many Charitable kindnesses from him: and, told his wife so; who did therefore with an unwilling-willingness give a faint Consent to the Journey, which was proposed to be but for two months: for about that time they determin'd their return.-Within a few days after this resolve, the Embassador, Sir Robert, and Mr. Donne left London; and were the twelfth day got all safe to Paris.—two days after their arrival there, Mr. Donne was left alone, in that room in which Sir Robert, and he, and some other friends had din'd together. To this place Sir Robert return'd within half an hour; and, as he left, so he found Mr. Donne alone; but, in such an Extasie, and so alter'd as to his looks, as amaz'd

Sir Robert to behold him: insomuch that he earnestly desired Mr. Donne to declare what had befall him in the short time of his absence? to which, Mr. Donne was not able to make a present answer: but, after a long and perplext pause, did at last say, I have seen a dreadful Vision since I saw you: I have seen my dear wife pass twice by me through this room. with her hair hanging about her shoulders, and a dead child in her arms; this, I have seen since I saw you. To which, Sir Robert reply'd; Sure Sir, you have slept since I saw you; and, this is the result of some melancholy dream, which I desire you to forget, for you are now awake. To which Mr. Donnes reply was: I cannot be surer that I now live, then that I have not slept since I saw you: and am, as sure, that at her second appearing, she stopt, and look'd me in the face, and vanisht. -- Rest and sleep, had not alter'd Mr. Donne's opinion the next day: for, he then affirm'd this Vision with a more deliberate, and, so confirm'd a confidence, that he inclin'd Sir Robert to a faint belief that the Vision was true. - It is truly said, that desire, and doubt, have no rest: and it prov'd so with Sir Robert, for he immediately sent a servant to Drewry house with a charge to hasten back, and bring him word, whether Mrs. Donne were alive? and if alive, in what condition she was, as to her health?-The twelfth day the Messenger returned with this account-That he found and left Mrs. Donne very sad, and sick in her bed: and, that after a long and dangerous labor she had been deliver'd of a dead child. And, upon examination, the abortion prov'd to be the same day, and about the very hour that Mr. Donne affirm'd he saw her pass by him in his Chamber.

This is a relation that will beger some wonder: and, it well may; for most of our world are at present possest with an opinion that Visions and Miracles are ceas'd. And, though 'tis most certain, that two Lutes, being both strung and tun'd to an equal pitch, and then, one plaid upon, the other, that is not totcht, being laid upon a Table at a fit distance, will (like an Eccho to a trumper) warble a faint audible harmony, in answer to the same tune: yet many will not believe there is any such thing, as a sympathy of souls; and I am well pleas'd, that every Reader do injoy his own opinions but if the unbelieving will not allow the believing Reader of this story, a liberty to believe that it may be true; then, I wish him to consider, many Wise men have believed.

that, the ghost of Julius Cæsar did appear to Brutus, and that both St. Austin, and Monica his mother, had Visions in order to his Conversion. And, though these and many others (too many to name) have but the authority of humane story, yet, the incredible Reader may find in the Sacred story1, that Samuel did appear to Saul even after his death. (whether really or not? I undertake not to determine.) And, Bildad in the Book of Job, says these words2, A spirit passed before my face, the hair of my bead stood up, fear and trembling came upon me; and made all my bones to shake. Upon which words I will make no Comment, but, leave them to be considered by the incredulous Reader; to whom, I will also commend this following consideration: That there be many pious and learned men, that believe our merciful God hath assign'd to every man a particular quardian Angel, to be his constant monitor; and, to attend him in all his dangers, both of body and soul. And the opinion that every man hath his particular Angel, may gain some authority, by the relation of St. Peters miraculous deliverance out of prison3, not by many, but, by one Angel. And this belief may yet gain more credit, by the readers considering that when Peter after his inlargement knockt at the door of Mary the mother of John; and Rode the maid servant being surpriz'd with joy that Peter was there, did not let him in, but ran in haste and told the Disciples (who were then and there met together) that Peter was at the door: and, they not believing it, said she was mad: yet, when she again affirm'd it, though they then believed it not: yet, they concluded, and said: It is his Angel.

More observations of this nature, and inferences from them, might be made to gain the relation a firmer belief: but I forbear, least I that intended to be but a Relator, may be thought to be an ingag' d person for the proving what was related to me; and yet, I think my self bound to declare, that though it was not told me by Mr. Donne himself; it was told me (now long since) by a Person of Honour, and of such intimacy with him, that he knew more of the secrets of his soul, then any person then living: and I think they told me the truth; for, it was told with such circumstances, and such asseveration, that (to say nothing

¹ I Sam. 28. ² Job 4. ³ Acts 12.

of my own thoughts) I verily believe he that told it me, did himself believe it to be true.

I forbear the Readers farther trouble, as to the relation, and what concerns it; and will conclude mine, with commending to his view a Copy of Verses given by Mr. Domne to his wife at the time that he then parted from her. And I beg leave to tell, that I have heard some Criticks, learned, both in Languages and Poetry, say, that none of the Greek or Latine Poets did ever equal them.

A Valediction, forbidding to Mourn.

As vertuous men pass mildly away, And whisper to their Souls to go, Whilst, some of their sad Friends do say, The breath goes now, and some say no:

So, let us melt, and make no noise;
No wind-sighs, or tear-flouds us move,
'Twere profanation of our joys,
To tell the Laity our love.

Movings of th' earth, cause barms, and fears; Men reckon what they did or meant? But trepidation of the Sphears, Though greater far, is innocent.

Dull sublunary lovers love, (Whose soul is sense) cannot admit Absence: because, that doth remove Those things that Elemented it.

But we, by a Soul so much refin'd, That our souls know not what it is, Inter-assured of the mind, Care not, hands, eyes, or lips to miss.

Our two souls therefore, which are one, Though I must go, indure not yet A breach, but an expansion, Like gold, to aiery thinness beat.

If we be two? we are two so
As stiff twin-compasses are two:
Thy soul, the fixt foot, makes no show
To move, but does, if th'other do.

And, though thine in the Center sit, Yet, when my other far does rome, Thine leans, and hearkens after it, And grows erect as mine comes home.

Such thou must be to me, who must Like th'other foot, obliquely run: Thy firmness makes my circle just, And me to end, where I begun.

I return from my account of the Vision, to tell the Reader, that both before Mr. Domne's going into France, at his being there, and after his return many of the Nobility, and others that were powerful at Court, were watchful and solicitous to the King for some Secular imployment for him. The King had formerly both known and put a value upon his Company: and had also given him some hopes of a State-imployment; being always much pleas'd when Mr. Donne attended him, especially at his meals, where there were usually many deep discourses of general Learning: and very often friendly disputes or debates of Religion betwirxt his Majesty and those Divines, whose places required their attendance on him at those times: particularly the Dean of the Chappel; who then was Bishop Montague (the publisher of the learned and eloquent Works of his Majesty) and the most reverend Doctor Andrews, the late learned Bishop of Winebester, who then was the Kings Almoner.

About this time, there grew many disputes that concerned the Oath of Supremacy and Allegiance, in which the King had appeared, and

engaged himself by his publick writings now extant: and, his Majesty discoursing with Mr. Donne, concerning many of the reasons which are usually urged against the taking of those Oaths; a pprehended, such a validity and clearness in his stating the Questions, and his Answers to them, that his Majesty commanded him to bestow some time in drawing the Arguments into a method, and then to write his Answers to them: and, having done that, not to send, but be his own messenger and bring them to him. To this he presently and diligently applied himself, and, within six weeks brought them to him under his own handwriting, as they be now printed; the Book bearing the name of Pseudo-martyr, printed anno 1610.

When the King had read and considered that Book, he perswaded Mr. Donne to enter into the Ministery: to which at that time he was. and appeared very unwilling, apprehending it (such was his mistaking modesty) to be too weighty for his Abilities; and though his Majesty had promised him a favour, and many persons of worth mediated with his Majesty for some secular employment for him (to which his Education had apted him) and particularly the Earl of Somerset, when in his greatest height of favour; who being then at Theobalds with the King, where one of the Clerks of the Council died that night, the Earl posted a messenger for Mr. Donne to come to him immediately. and at Mr. Donne's coming, said, Mr. Donne, To testifie the reality of my Affection, and my purpose to prefer you, Stay in this Garden till I go up to the King, and bring you word that you are Clark of the Council: doubt not my doing this, for I know the King loves you, and know the King will not deny me. But the King gave a positive denial to all requests, and having a discerning spirit, replied, I know Mr. Donne is a learned man, has the abilities of a learned Divine; and will prove a powerful Preacher, and my desire is to prefer him that way, and in that way, I will deny you nothing for him. After that time, as he professeth, The King descended to a perswasion, almost to a solicitation of him to enter into sacred Orders: which though he then denied not, yet he deferred it for almost three years. All which time he applied himself to an incessant study of Textual Divinity, and

to the attainment of a greater perfection in the learned Languages, Greek and Hebrew.

In the first and most blessed times of Christianity, when the Clergy were look'd upon with reverence, and deserved it, when they overcame their opposers by high examples of Vertue, by a blessed Patience and long Suffering: those only were then judged worthy the Ministry. whose quiet and meek spirits did make them look upon that sacred calling with an humble adoration and fear to undertake it; which indeed requires such great degrees of bumility, and labour, and care, that none but such were then thought worthy of that celestial dignity. And such only were then sought out, and solicited to undertake it. This I have mentioned because forwardness and inconsideration, could not in Mr. Donne, as in many others, be an argument of insufficiency or unfitness; for he had considered long, and had many strifes within himself concerning the strictness of life and competency of learning required in such as enter into sacred Orders; and doubtless, considering his own demerits, did humbly ask God with St. Paul, Lord, who is sufficient for these things ? and, with meek Moses, Lord, who am I ? And sure, if he had consulted with flesh and blood, he had not for these reasons put his hand to that holy plough. But God who is able to prevail. wrestled with him, as the Angel did with Jacob, and marked him; mark'd him for his own; mark'd him with a blessing; a blessing of obedience to the motions of his blessed Spirit. And then, as he had formerly asked God with Moses, Who am I? So now being inspired with an apprehension of Gods particular mercy to him, in the Kings and other solicitations of him, he came to ask King Davids thankful question, Lord, who am I, that thou art so mindful of me? So mindful of me, as to lead me for more then forty years through this wilderness of the many temptations, and various turnings of a dangerous life: so merciful to me, as to move the learned'st of Kings, to descend to move me to serve at the Altar! so merciful to me, as at last, to move my heart to imbrace this holy motion: thy motions I will and do imbrace: And, I now say with the blessed Virgin, Be it with thy servant as seemeth best in thy sight: and so, blessed Jesus, I do take the cup of Salvation, and will call upon thy Name, and will preach thy Gospel,

Such strifes as these St. Austine had, when St. Ambrose indeavoured his conversion to Christianity; with which he confesseth, he acquainted his friend Alipius. Our learned Author (a man fit to write after no mean Copy) did the like. And declaring his intentions to his dear friend Dr. King then Bishop of London, a man famous in his generation, and no stranger to Mr. Donne's abilities, (For he had been Chaplain to the Lord Chancellor, at the time of Mr. Donne's being his Lordships Secretary) That Reverend man did receive the news with much gladness; and, after some expressions of joy, and a perswasion to be constant in his pious purpose, he proceeded with all convenient speed to ordain him first Deacon, and then Priest not long after.

Now the English Church had gain'd a second St. Austine, for, I think, none was so like him before his Conversion: none so like St. Ambrose after it: and if his youth had the infirmities of the one, his age had the excellencies of the other; the learning and holiness of both.

And now all his studies which had been occasionally diffused, were all concentred in Divinity. Now he had a new calling, new thoughts, and a new imployment for his wit and eloquence: Now, all his earthly affections were changed into divine love; and all the faculties of his own soul, were ingaged in the Conversion of others: In preaching the glad tidings of Remission to repenting Sinners, and peace to each troubled soul. To these he applied himself with all care and diligence: and now, such a change was wrought in him, that he could say with David, Ob bow amiable are thy Tabernacles, O Lord God of Hosts! Now he declared openly, that when he required a temporal, God gave him a spiritual blessing. And that, he was now gladder to be a door-keeper in the house of God, then he could be to hijoy the noblest of all temporal imployments.

Presently after he entred into his holy profession, the King sent for him, and made him his Chaplain in Ordinary; and promised to take a particular care for his preferment.

And though his long familiarity with Scholars, and persons of greatest quality, was such as might have given some men boldness enough to have preached to any eminent Auditory; yet his modesty in this imployment was such, that he could not be perswaded to it, but went usually accompanied with some one friend, to preach privately

in some village, not far from London: his first Sermon being preached at Paddington. This he did, till His Majesty sent and appointed him a day to preach to him at White-hall, and, though much were expected from him, both by His Majesty and others, yet he was so happy (which few are) as to satisfie and exceed their expectations: preaching the Word so, as shewed his own heart was possest with those very thoughts and joys that he laboured to distill into others: A Preacher in earnest; weeping sometimes for his Auditory, sometimes with them: alwayes preaching to himself, like an Angel from a cloud, but in none; carrying some, as St. Paul was, to Heaven in holy raptures, and intening others by a sacred Art and Courtship to amend their lives; here picturing a vice so as to make it ugly to those that practised it; and a vettue so, as to make it be beloved even by those that lov'd it not; and all this with a most particular grace and an unexpressible addition of comeliness.

There may be some that may incline to think (such indeed as have not heard him) that my affection to my Friend, hath transported me to an immoderate Commendation of his Preaching. If this meets with any such? Let me intreat, though I will omit many, yet that they will receive a double witness for what I say; it being attested by a Gentleman of worth (Mr. Chidley, a frequent hearer of his Sermons) in part of a funetal Elogie writ by him on Dr. Donne; and is a known truth, though it be in Verse.

— Each Alter had his fire:

Whe kept his love, but not bis object:
Wit,
He did not banish, but transplanted it;
Taught it both time and place, and brought it bome
To Pietry, which it doth best become.
For say, bad ever pleasure such a dress?
Hawe you seen crimes so shapt, or loveliness
Such as his lips did clothe Religion in?
Had not reproof a beauty, passing sin?
Corrupted nature sorroused that the stood
So near the danger of becoming good.

And, when he preach't she wish't her ears exempt From Piety, that had such pow'r to tempt. How did his sacred flattery beguile Men to amend?——

More of this, and more witnesses might be brought, but I forbear and return.

That Summer, in the very same month in which he entred into sacred Orders, and was made the Kings Choplain, His Majesty then going his Progress, was intreated to receive an entertainment in the University of Combridge. And Mr. Donne attending his Majesty at that time, his Majesty was pleased to recommend him to the University, to be made Doctor in Divinity, Doctor Harsnet (after Archbishop of York) was then Vice-Chancellor, who knowing him to be the Author of that learned Book the Pseudo-Martyr, required no other proof of his Abilities, but proposed it to the University, who presently assented, and exprest a gladness, that they had such an occasion to intitle him to be theirs.

His Abilities and Industry in his Profession were so eminent, and he so known, and so beloved by Persons of Quality, that within the first year of his entring into sacred Orders, he had fourteen Advowsons of several Benefices presented to him: But they were in the Countrey, and he could not leave his beloved London, to which place he had a natural inclination, having received both his Birth and Education in it, and there contracted a friendship with many, whose conversation multiplied the joys of his life: But, an imployment that might affix him to that place would be welcome; for he needed it.

Immediately after his return from Cambridge, his wife died; leaving him a man of a narrow unsetled estate, and (having buried five) the careful father of seven children then living, to whom he gave a voluntary assurance, never to bring them under the subjection of a stepmother; which promise he kept most faithfully, burying with his tears, all his earthly joys in his most dear and deserving wives grave; and betook himself to a most retired and solitary life.

In this retiredness, which was often from the sight of his dearest

friends, he became crucified to the world, and all those vanities, those imaginary pleasures that are daily acted on that restless stage; and they were as perfectly crucified to him. Nor is it hard to think (being passions may be both changed, and heightned by accidents) but that that abundant affection which once was betwixt him and her, who had long been the delight of his eyes, and the Companion of his youth; her, with whom he had divided so many pleasant sorrows, and contented fears, as Common people are not capable of; not hard to think but that she, being now removed by death, a commeasurable grief took as full a possession of him as joy had done; and so indeed it did: for now his very soul was elemented of nothing but sadness; now, grief took so full a possession of his heart, as to leave no place for joy: If it did? It was a joy to be alone, where like a Pelican in the wilderness, he might bemoan himself without witness or restraint, and pour forth his passions like Job in the days of his affliction, Ob that I might have the desire of my heart! Oh that God would grant the thing that I long for! For then, as the grave is become her house, so I would hasten to make it mine also; that we two might there make our beds together in the dark. Thus as the Israelites sate mourning by the rivers of Babylon, when they remembred Sion; so he gave some ease to his oppressed heart by thus venting his sorrows: Thus he began the day, and ended the night; ended the restless night and began the weary day in Lamentations. And, thus he continued till a consideration of his new ingagements to God, and St. Pauls, Wo is me, if I preach not the Gospel: disper'st those sad clouds that had then benighted his hopes, and now forc'd him to behold the light.

His first motion from his house was to preach, where his beloved wife lay buried (in St. Clements Church, near Temple-Bar London) and his Text was a part of the Prophet Jeremy's Lamentation: Lo, I am the man that have seen diffiction.

And indeed, his very words and looks testified him to be truly such a man; and they, with the addition of his sighs and tears, exprest in his Sermon, did so work upon the affections of his heaters, as melted and moulded them into a companionable sadness; and so they left the Congregation; but then their houses presented them with objects

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of diversion: and his, presented him with nothing but fresh objects of sorrow, in beholding many helpless children, a narrow fortune, and a consideration of the many cares and casualties that attend their education.

In this time of sadness he was importuned by the grave Benchers of Lincolns Inne, who were once the Companions and Friends of his youth, to accept of their Lecture, which by reason of Dr. Gatakers removal from thence was then void: of which he accepted; being most glad to renew his intermitted friendship with those whom he so much loved; and where he had been a Saul, though not to persecute Christianity, or to deride it, yet in his irregular youth to neglect the visible practice of it: there to become a Paul, and preach salvation to his belowed brethern.

And now his life was as a Shining light among his old friends: now he gave an ocular testimony of the strictness and regularity of it; now he might say as St. Paul adviseth his Corinthians, Be ye followers of me, as I follow Christ, and walk as ye bave me for an example; not the example of a busie-body; but, of a contemplative, a harmless, an humble and an holy life and conversation.

The love of that noble society was expressed to him many ways: for besides fair lodgings that were set apart and newly furnished for him, with all necessaries, other countesies were also daily added; indeed, so many, and so freely, as if they meant their gratitude should exceed his merits; and in this love-strife of desert and liberality, they continued for the space of two years, he preaching faithfully and constantly to them, and they liberally requiting him. About which time the Emperour of Germany died, and the Palsgrave, who had lately married the Lady Elizabeth the Kings only daughter, was elected and crowned King of Bobenia, the unhappy beginning of many miseries in that Nation.

King James, whose Motto (Beati pacifici) did truly speak the very thoughts of his heart, endeavoured first to prevent, and after to compose the discords of that discomposed State; and amongst other his endeavours did then send the Lord Hay Earl of Doncaster his Ambassadour to those unsetled Princes; and by a special command from

his Majesty Dr. Donne was appointed to assist and attend that employment to the Princes of the Union: for which the Earl was most glad, who had always put a great value on him, and taken a great pleasure in his conversation and discourse: and his friends of Lincolns Inne were as glad; for they feared that his immoderate study, and sadness for his wives death, would, as Jacob said, make his days few, and respecting his bodily health, evil too: and of this there were many visible signs.

At his going, he left his friends of Lincolns Inne, and they him with many reluctations: for though he could not say as S. Paul to his Ephesians, Behold you to whom I have preached the Kingdom of God, shall from henceforth see my face no more; yet he believing himself to be in a Consumption, questioned, and they feared it: all concluding that his troubled mind, with the help of his unintermitted studies, hastened the decays of his weak body: But God who is the God of all wisdom and goodness, turn'd it to the best; for this employment (to say nothing of the event of it) did not only divert him from those too serious studies, and sad thoughts; but seemed to give him a new life by a true occasion of joy, to be an eye-witness of the health of his most dear and most honoured Mistress the Queen of Bobemia, in a forraign Nation; and to be a witness of that gladness which she expressed to see him: Who, having formerly known him a Courtier, was much joyed to see him in a Canonical habit, and more glad to be an ear-witness of his excellent and powerful Preaching.

About fourteen months after his departure out of England, he returned to his friends of Lincolns-Inne with his sorrows moderated, and his health improved; and there betook himself to his constant course of Preaching.

About a year after his return out of Germany, Dr. Cary was made Bishop of Exeter, and by his removal the Deanty of St. Pauls being vacant, the King sent to Dr. Donne, and appointed him to attend him at Dinner the next day. When his Majesty was sate down, before he had eat any meat, he said after his pleasant manner, Dr. Donne, I have invited you to Dinner; and, though you sit not down with me, yet I will carve to you of a dish that I know you love well; for knowing you love London, I do therefore make you Dean of Pauls; and when I have dined, then do you take

your beloved dish home to your study; say grace there to your self, and much good may it do you.

Immediately after he came to his Deanry, he employed work/men to repair and beautifie the Chapel; suffering, as holy David once vowed, bis eyes and temples to take no rest, till be bad first beautified the house of God.

The next quarter following, when his Father-in-law Sir George Moor (whom Time had made a lover and admirer of him) came to pay to him the conditioned sum of twenty pounds; he refused to receive it, and said (as good Jacob did, when he heard his beloved son Joseph was alive, It is enough) You have been kind to me and mine: I know your present condition is such as not to abound: and I hope mine is or will be such as not to need it: I will therefore receive no more from you upon that contract; and in testimony of it freely gave him up his bond.

Immediately after his admission into his Deanty, the Vicarage of St. Dunstan in the West, London, fell to him by the death of Dr. White, the Advowson of it having been given to him long before by his honourable friend, Richard Earl of Dorset, then the Patron, and confirmed by his brother the late deceased Edward, both of them men of much honour.

By these and another Ecclesiastical endowment which fell to him about the same time, given to him formerly by the Earl of Kent, he was enabled to become charitable to the poor, and kind to his friends, and to make such provision for his children, that they were not left scandalous, as relating to their or his Profession and Quality.

The next Parliament, which was within that present year, he was chosen Prolocutor to the Convocation; and about that time was appointed by his Majesty, his most gracious Master, to preach very many occasional Sermons, as at St. Paul's Cross, and other places. All which employments he performed to the admiration of the Representative Body of the whole Clergy of this Nation.

He was once, and but once, clouded with the Kings displeasure; and it was about this time; which was occasioned by some malicious whisperer, who had told his Majesty that Dr. Donne had put on the general humor of the Pulpits, and was become busic in insinuating a

fear of the Kings inclining to Popery, and a dislike of his Governments and particularly, for the Kings then turning the Evening Lectures into Catechising, and expounding the Prayer of our Lord, and of the Belief, and Commandments. His Majesty was the more inclineable to believe this, for that a Person of Nobility and great note, betwixt whom and Dr. Donne, there had been a great friendship, was at this very time discarded the Court (I shall forbear his name, unless I had a fairer occasion) and justly committed to prison; which begot many rumors in the common people, who in this Nation think they are not wise, unless they be busic about what they understand not: and especially about Religion.

The King received this news with so much discontent and restlesness, that he would not suffer the Sun to set and leave him under this doubt; but sent for Dr. Donne, and required his answer to the Accusation; which was so clear and satisfactory, that the King said be was right glad he rested no longer under the suspicion. When the King had said this, Doctor Donne kneeled down and thanked his Majesty, and protested his answer was faithful and free from all collusion, and therefore desired that he might not rise, till, as in like cases he always had from God, so he might have from his Majesty, some assurance that he stood clear and fair in his opinion. At which the King raised him from his knees with his own hands, and protested be believ'd him: and that he knew he was an honest man, and doubted not but that he loved him truly. And, having thus dismissed him, he called some Lords of his Council into his Chamber. and said with much earnestness, My Doctor is an honest man: and my Lords, I was never better satisfied with an answer then be bath now made me: and I always rejoice when I think that by my means he became a Divine.

He was made Dean the fiftieth year of his age; and in his fifty fourth year, a dangerous sickness seized him, which inclined him to a Consumption. But God, as Job thankfully acknowledged, preserved his spinit, and kept his intellectuals as clear and perfect, as when that sickness first seized his body; but it continued long and threatned him with death; which he dreaded not.

In this distemper of body, his dear friend Doctor Henry King (then chief Residenciary of that Church, and late Bishop of Chichester) a

man generally known by the Clergy of this Nation, and as generally noted for his obliging nature, visited him daily; and observing that his sickness rendred his recovery doubtful, he chose a seasonable time to speak to him, to this purpose.

'Mr. Deen, I am by your favour no stranger to your temporal estate, 'and you are no stranger to the Offer lately made us, for the renewing 'a Lease of the best Prebends Corps belonging to our Church; and 'you know, 'twas denied, for that our Tenant being very rich, offered to fine at so low a rate as held not proportion with his advantages: 'but I will either raise him to an higher sum, or procure that the other 'Residenciaries shall join to accept of what was offered: one of these 'I can and will by your favour do without delay, and without any trouble either to your body or mind; I beseech you to accept of my 'offer, for I know it will be a considerable addition to your present 'estate, which I know needs it.'

To this, after a short pause, and raising himself upon his bed, he made this reply.

'My most dear friend, I most humbly thank you for your many 'favours, and this in particular: But, in my present condition, I shall 'not accept of your proposal; for doubtless there is such a Sin as Sacri-'ledge: if there were not, it could not have a name in Scripture: And 'the Primitive Clergy were watchful against all appearances of that 'evil; and indeed then all Christians lookt upon it with horror and 'detestation: Judging it to be even an open defiance of the Power and Pro-'vidence of Almighty God, and a sad presage of a declining Religion. But in 'stead of such Christians, who had selected times set apart to fast and 'pray to God, for a pious Clergy which they then did obey; Our times 'abound with men that are busie and litigious about trifles and Church-'Ceremonies; and yet so far from scrupling Sacriledge, that they make 'not so much as a quære what it is: But I thank God I have; and dare 'not now upon my sick-bed, when Almighty God hath made me 'useless to the service of the Church, make any advantages out of it. 'But if he shall again restore me to such a degree of health, as again 'to serve at his Altar; I shall then gladly take the reward which the 'bountiful Benefactors of this Church have designed me; for God

knows my Children and Relations will need it. In which number 'my Mother (whose Credulity and Charity has contracted a very plenriful, to a very narrow estate) must not be forgotten: But Doctor King,
'if I recover not, that little worldly estate that I shall leave behind me
'(that very little, when divided into eight parts) must, if you deny me
'not so Charitable a favour, fall into your hands as my most faithful
'friend and Executor; of whose Care and Justice, I make no more
'doubt then of Gods blessing on that which I have conscientiously
'collected for them; but it shall not be augmented on my sick-bed; and
'this I declare to be my unalterable resolution.'

The reply to this was only a promise to observe his request.

Within a few days his distempers abated; and as his strength increased, so did his thankfulness to Almighty God, testified in his most excellent Book of Devotions, which he published at his Recovery. In which the Reader may see, the most secret thoughts that then possest his Soul, Paraphrased and made publick: a book, that may not unfitly be called a Sacred picture of Spiritual Extasies, occasioned and appliable to the emergencies of that sickness; which book, being a composition of Meditations, Disquisitions and Prayers, he writ on his sickbed; herein imitating the Holy Patriarchs, who were wont to build their Altars in that place, where they had received their blessings.

This sickness brought him so near to the gates of death, and he saw the grave so ready to devour him, that he would often say, his recovery was supernatural: But that God that then restored his health continued it to him, till the fifty-ninth year of his life. And then in August 1630. being with his eldest Daughter Mrs. Harvy at Abury hatch in Essex, he there fell into a Fever, which with the help of his constant infirmity (vapours from the spleen) hastened him into so visible a Consumption, that his beholders might say, as St. Paul of himself, He dyes daily; and he might say with Job, My welfare parseth sway as a cloud, the days of my affliction bave taken bold of me, and weary nights are appointed for me.

Reader, This sickness continued long, not only weakning but wearying him so much, that my desire is, he may now take some rest: and that before I speak of his death, thou wilt not think it an impertinent digression to look

back with me, upon some observations of his life, which, whilst a gentle slumber gives rest to his spirits, may, I hope, not unfitly exercise thy consideration.

His marriage was the remarkable error of his life; an error which though he had a wit able and very apt to maintain Paradoxes, yet he was very far from justifying it: and though his wives Competent years, and other reasons might be justly urged to moderate severe Censures; yet he would occasionally condemn himself for it: and doubtless it had been attended with an heavy Repentance, if God had not blest them with so mutual and cordial affections, as in the midst of their sufferings made their bread of sorrow taste more pleasantly then the banquets of dull and low-spirited people.

The Recreations of his youth were Poetry, in which he was so happy, as if nature and all her varieties had been made only to exercise his sharp wit, and high fancy; and in those pieces which were facetiously Composed and carelesly scattered (most of them being written before the twentieth year of his age) it may appear by his choice Metaphors, that both Nature and all the Arts joyned to assist him with their utmost skill.

It is a truth, that in his penitential years, viewing some of those pieces that had been loosely (God knows too loosely) scattered in his youth, he wish't they had been abortive, or so short liv'd that his own eyes had witnessed their funerals: But though he was no friend to them, he was not so fallen out with heavenly Poetry as to forsake that: no, not in his declining age; witnessed then by many Divine Sonnets, and other high, holy, and harmonious Composures. Yea, even on his former sick-bed he wrote this heavenly Hymm, expressing the great joy that then possest his soul in the Assurance of Gods favour to him when he Composed it.

AN HYMN TO GOD THE FATHER

Wilt thou forgive that sin where I begun, Which was my sin, though it were done before; Wilt thou forgive that sin through which I run, THE LIFE OF DR. DONNE
And do run still though still I do deplore?
When thou hast done, thou hast not done,
For I have more.

Wilt thou forgive that sin, which I have won
Others to sin, and made my sin their door?
Wilt thou forgive that sin which I did shun
A year or two, but wallowed in a score?
When thou hast done, thou hast not done,
For I have more.

I bave a sin of fear, that when I've spun
My last thread, I shall perish on the shore:
But swear by thy self, that at my death thy Son
Shall shine as he shines now, and heretofore;
And having done that, thou hast done,
I fear no more.

I have the rather mentioned this Hymn, for that he caus'd it to be set to a most grave and solemn Tune, and to be often sung to the Organ by the Choristers of St. Pauls Church, in his own hearing; especially at the Evening Service, and at his return from his Customary Devotions in that place, did occasionally say to a friend, The words of this Hymn have restored to me the same thoughts of joy that possert my Soul in my sideness when I compored it. And, O the power of Churchomusick! that Harmony added to this Hymn has raised the Affections of my beart, and quickned my graces of zeal and gratitude; and I observe, that I always return from paying this publick datay of Prayer and Praise to God, with an unexpressible tranquillity of mind, and a willingness to leave the world.

After this manner did the Disciples of our Saviour, and the best of Christians in those Ages of the Church nearest to his time, offer their praises to Almighty God. And the reader of St. Augustines life may there find, that towards his dissolution he wept abundantly, that the enemies of Christianity had broke in upon them, and prophaned and ruined their Sanctuaries; and because their Publick Hymns and Lauds

were lost out of their Churches. And after this manner have many devout Souls lifted up their hands and offered acceptable Sacrifices unto Almighty God where Dr. Donne offered his, and now lyes buried.

But now, oh Lord, how is that place become desolate.

Before I proceed further, I think fit to inform the Reader, that not long before his death he caused to be drawn a figure of the Body of Christ extended upon an Anchor, like those which Painters draw when they would present us with the picture of Christ crucified on the Cross: his, varying no otherwise then to affix him not to a Cross but to an Anchor (the Emblem of hope) this he caused to be drawn in little, and then many of those figures thus drawn to be ingraven very small in Helitopian Stones, and set in gold, and of these he sent to many of his dearest friends to be used as Seals, or Rings, and kept as memorials of him, and of his affection to them.

His dear friends and benefactors, Sir Henry Goodier, and Sir Robert Drewry, could not be of that number; Nor could the Lady Magdalen Herbert, the monther of Googe Herbert, for they had put off mortality, and taken possession of the grave before him: But Sir Henry Wotton, and Dr. Hall the then late deceased Bishop of Norwich were; and so were Dr. Duppa, Bishop of Salisbury, and Dr. Henry King Bishop of Chichester (lately deceased) men, in whom there was such a Commixe ture of general Learning, of natural Eloquence, and Christian Humility, that they deserve a Commemoration by a pen equal to their own, which none have exceeded.

And in this enumeration of his friends, though many must be omitted, yet that man of primitive piety, Mr. George Herbert may not; I mean that George Herbert, who was the Author of the Temple, or Sacred Poems and Ejaculations. A Book, in which by declaring his own spiritual Conflicts, he hath Comforted and raised many a dejected and discomposed Soul, and charmed them into sweet and quiet thoughts: A Book, by the frequent reading whereof, and the assistance of that Spirit that seemed to inspire the Author, the Reader may attain habits of Peace and Piety, and all the gifts of the Holy Ghost and

Heaven: and may by still reading, still keep those sacred fires burning upon the Altar of so pure a heart, as shall free it from the anxieties of this world, and keep it fixt upon things that are above; betwixt this George Herbert and Dr. Donne there was a long and dear friendship, made up by such a Sympathy of inclinations, that they coveted and joyed to be in each others Company; and this happy friendship, was still maintained by many sacred indearments; of which, that which followeth may be some Testimony.

To Mr. George Herbert; sent him with one of my Seals of the Anchor and Christ. (A sheaf of Snakes used heretofore to be my Seal, which is the Crest of our poor Family.)

Qui prius assuetus serpentum falce tabellas Signare, bæc nostræ Symbola parva domus Adscitus domui domini.—

Adopted in Gods family, and so
My old Coat lost into new Arms I go.
The Cxoss my seal in Baptism spread below.

Does by that form into an Anchor grow.

Crosses grow Anchors, hear as thou should'st do
Thy Cross, and that Cross grows an Anchor too.
But he that makes our Crosses Anchors thus.

Is Christ; who there is crucified for us.

Yet with this I may my first Serpents hold: (God gives new blessings, and yet leaves the old)

The Serpent may as wise my pattern be;

My poison, as be feeds on dust, that's me. And, as be rounds the earth to murder, sure

He is my death; but on the Cross my cure. Crucifie nature then; and then implore

All grace from him, crucify'd there before.

When all is Cross, and that Cross Anchor grown, This seals a Catechism, not a seal alone.

Vnder that little seal great gifts I send, Both works and prayers, pawns & fruits of a friend;

Ob may that Saint that rides on our great Seal, To you that bear his name large bounty deal.

John Donne.



In Sacram Anchoram Piscatoris
GEORGE HERBERT

Quod Crux nequibat fixa clavique additi, Tenere Christum scilicet ne ascenderet Tuive Christum—

Although the Cross could not Christ here detain, When nail'd unto't, but he ascends again: Nor yet thy eloquence here keep him still, But only whilest thou speak'st; this Anchor will:



Nor canst thou be content, unless thou to This certain Anchor add a seal, and so The water and the earth, both unto thee Do owe the Symbole of their certainty.

Let the world reel, we and all ours stand sure, This Holy Cable's from all storms secure.

George Herbert.

I return to tell the Reader, that besides these verses to his dear Mr. Herbert, and that Hymn that I mentioned to be sung in the Quire of St. Pauls Church; he did also shorten and beguile many sad hours by composing other sacred Ditties; and he writ an Hymn on his deathbed, which bears this title.

An Hymn to God, my God, in my sickness, March 23. 1630.

Since I am coming to that boly room,
Where, with they Quire of Saints for evermore
I shall be made thy musique, as I come
I tune my Instrument here at the dore,
And, what I must do then, think here before.

Since my Physitians by their loves are grown Cosmographers! and I their map, who lye Flat on this bed——

So, in his purple wrapt receive me, Lord!

By these, his thorns, give me his other Ctown:
And, as to other souls I preach of thy Word,
Be this my Text: my Sermon to mine own.

That, he may raise; therefore, the Lord throws down.

If these fall under the censure of a soul, whose too much mixture with earth makes it unfit to judge of these high raptures and illuminations; let him know that many holy and devout men have thought the Soul of Prudentius to be most refined, when not many days before his death be charged it to present his God each morning and evening with a new and spiritual song; justified, by the example of King David and the good King Hezekias, who upon the renovation of his years paid his thank-

ful vows to Almighty God in a royal Hymn, which he concludes in these words, The Lord was ready to save, therefore I will sing my songs to the stringed instruments all the days of my life in the temple of my God.

The latter part of his life may be said to be a continued study; for as he usually preached once a week, if not oftner, so after his Sermon he never gave his eyes rest, till he had chosen out a new Text, and that night cast his Sermon into a form, and his Text into divisions; and the next day betook himself to consult the Fathers, and so commit his meditations to his memory, which was excellent. But upon Saturday he usually gave himself and his mind a rest from the weary burthen of his weeks meditations, and usually spent that day in visitation of friends, or some other diversions of his thoughts; and would say, that be gave both his body and mind that refreshment, that he might be enabled to do the work of the day following, not faintly, but with courage and chearfulness. Nor was his age only so industrious, but in the most unsetled days of his youth, his bed was not able to detain him beyond the hour of four in a morning: and it was no common business that drew him out of his chamber till past ten. All which time was employed in study; though he took great liberty after it; and if this seem strange, it may gain a belief by the visible fruits of his labours: some of which remain as testimonies of what is here written: for he left the resultance of 1400. Authors, most of them abridged and analysed with his own hand; he left also sixscore of his Sermons, all written with his own hand; also an exact and laborious Treatise concerning Self-murther, called Biathanatos; wherein all the Laws violated by that Act are diligently surveyed and judiciously censured: a Treatise written in his younger days, which alone might declare him then not only perfect in the Civil and Canon Law, but in many other such studies and arguments, as enter not into the consideration of many that labour to be thought great Clerks, and pretend to know all things.

Nor were these only found in his study, but all businesses that past of any publick consequence, either in this, or any of our neighbournations, he abbreviated either in Latine, or in the Language of that Nation, and kept them by him for useful memorials. So he did the Copies of divers Letters and cases of Conscience that had concerned

his friends, with his observations and solutions of them; and divers other businesses of importance; all particularly and methodically digested by himself.

He did prepare to leave the world before life left him; making his Will when no faculty of his soul was damp'd or made defective by pain or sickness, or he surprized by a sudden apprehension of death: but it was made with mature deliberation, expressing himself an impartial father by making his childrens portions equal; and a lover of his friends, whom he remembred with Legacies fitly and discreetly chosen and bequeathed. I cannot forbear a nomination of some of them; for methinks they be persons that seem to challenge a recordation in this place; as namely, to his Brother in law Sir Thomas Grimes. he gave that striking Clock which he had long worn in his pocket - to his dear friend and Executor Dr. King (late Bishop of Chie chester) that model of gold of the Synod of Dort, with which the States presented him at his last being at the Hague- and the two Pictures of Padre Paulo and Fulgentio, men of his acquaintance when he travelled Italy, and of great note in that Nation for their remarkable learning. - To his antient friend Dr. Brook (that married him) Master of Trinity Colledge in Cambridge, he gave the Picture of the blessed Virgin and Joseph. To Dr. Winniff (who succeeded him in the Deanry) he gave a Picture called the Sceleton .- To the succeeding Dean, who was not then known, he gave many necessaries of worth, and useful for his house; and also several Pictures and Ornaments for the Chappel, with a desire that they might be registred, and remain as a Legacy to his Successors .- To the Earls of Dorset and Carlile, he gave several Pictures; and so he did to many other friends; Legacies, given rather to express his affection, than to make any addition to their Estates: but unto the Poor he was full of Charity, and unto many others, who by his constant and long continued bounty might intitle themselves to be his Alms people; for all these he made provision; and so largely, as having then six children living, might to some appear more than proportionable to his Estate. I forbear to mention any more, lest the Reader may think I trespass upon his patience: but I will beg his favour to present him with the beginning and end of his Will.

In the Name of the blessed and glorious Trinity, Amen. I John Donne, by the mercy of Chriss Jesus, and by the calling of the Church of England Priest, being at this time in good health and perfect understanding (praised he God therefore) do hereby make my last Will and Testament in manner and form following:

First, I give my gracious God an intire sacrifice of body and soul, with my most bumble thanks for that assurance which his blessed Spirit imprints in me now of the saluation of the one, and the Resurrection of the other; and for that constant and chearful resolution which the same Spirit hath establish in me to live and dye in the Religion now professed in the Church of England. In expectation of that Resurrection, I desire my body may be buried (in the most private manner that may be) in that place of St. Paulis Church London, that the now Residentiaries have at my request designed for that purpose, &cc.—And this my last Will and Testament, made in the fear of God (whose mercy I humbly beg, and constantly rely upon in Jesus Christ) and in perfect love and charity with all the world (whose pardon I ask, from the lowest of my servants, to the bighest of my Superiors) written all with my own hand, and my name subscribed to every page, of which there are five in number.

Sealed Decemb. 13. 1630.

Nor was this blessed sacrifice of Charity expressed only at his death, but in his life also, by a chearful and frequent visitation of any friend whose mind was dejected, or his fortune necessious; he was inquisitive after the wants of Prisoners, and redeemed many from thence that lay for their Fees or small Debts; he was a continual Giver to poor Scholars, both of this and forraign Nations. Besides what he gave with his own hand, he usually sent a Servant, or a discreet and trusty Friend, to distribute his Charity to all the Prisons in London at all the Festival times of the year, especially at the Birth and Resurrection of our Saviour. He gave an hundred pounds at one time to an old Friend, whom he had known live plentifully, and by a too liberal heart and carclessness, become decayed in his Estate: and, when the receiving of it was denied, by the Gentlemans saying, He wanted not; for the Reader may note, that as there be some spirits so generous as to labout to contend, and endure a sad poverty, rather than expose themselves to those

blushes that attend the confession of it; so there be others to whom Nature and Grace have afforded such sweet and compassionate souls, as to pity and prevent the Distresses of Mankind; which I have mentioned because of Dr. Donne's Reply, whose Answer was, I know you want not what will sustain nature, for a little will do that; but my desire is, that you who in the days of your plenty have cheared and raised the hearts of so many of your dejected friends, would now receive this from me, and use it as a cordial for the chearing of your own: and upon these terms it was received. He was an happy reconciler of many differences in the Families of his Friends, and Kindred, (which he never undertook faintly; for such undertakings have usually faint effects) and they had such a faith in his judgment and impartiality, that he never advised them to any thing in vain. He was even to her death a most dutiful Son to his Mother, careful to provide for her supportation, of which she had been destitute, but that God raised him up to prevent her necessities; who having sucked in the Religion of the Roman Church with her Mothers Milk, spent her Estate in forraign Countreys, to enjoy a liberty in it, and died in his house but three Moneths before him.

And to the end it may appear how just a Steward he was of his Lord and Masters Revenue, I have thought fit to let the Reader know, that after his entrance into his Deanery, as he numbered his years, he (at the foot of a private account to which God and his Angels were only wimesses with him) computed first his Revenue, then what was given to the Poor, and other Pious Uses: and lastly, what rested for him and his; and, having done that, he then blest each years poor remainder with a thankful Prayer; which, for that they discover a more than common Devotion, the Reader shall partake some of them in his own words:

So all is that remains this year

Deo Opt. Max. benigno Largitori, à me, & ab iis Quibus bæc à me reservantur, Gloria & gratia in æternum.

Amen.

So, that this year, God hath blessed me and mine with

Multiplicatæ sunt super Nos misericordiæ tuæ Domine

Da Domine, ut quæ ex immenså Bonitate tuå nobis elargiri Dignatus sis, in quorumcunque Manus devenerint, in tuam Semper cedant gloriam.

Amen.

In fine horum sex Annorum manet---

Quid babeo quod non accepi à Domino? Largitur etiem ut quæ largitus est Saa iterum fiant, bono corum uzu; ut Quemadmodum nec officiis bujus mundi, Nec loci in quo me posuit; dignitati, nec Servis, nec egenis, in toto bujus anni Curriculo mibi conscius sum me defuisse; Ita & liberi, quibus quæ supersunt, Supersunt, grato animo ea accipiant, Et beneficum authorem recognoscant.

Amen.

But I return from my long Digression.

We left the Author sick in Essex, where he was forced to spend much of that Winter, by reason of his disability to remove from that place: And having never for almost twenty years omitted his personal attendance on His Majesty in that month in which he was to attend and preach to him; nor having ever been left out of the Roll and number of Lent-Preachers, and there being then (in Jamary 1630.) a report brought to London, or raised there, that Dr. Donne was dead: That report gave him occasion to write this following Letter to a dear friend.

Sir,

'This advantage you and my other friends have by my frequent 'Fevers, that I am so much the oftner at the gates of Heaven; and this 'advantage by the solitude and close imprisonment that they reduce me to after, that I am so much the oftner at my prayers, in which I shall 'never leave out your happiness; and I doubt not among his other 'blessings, God will add some one to you for my prayers. A man 'would almost be content to dye (if there were no other benefit in 'death) to hear of so much sorrow, and so much good testimony from 'good men as I (God be blessed for it) did upon the report of my 'death; yet I perceive it went not through all: for one writ to me that 'some (and he said of my friends) conceived I was not so ill as I pre-'tended, but withdrew my self to live at ease, discharged of preaching. 'It is an unfriendly, and God knows an ill-grounded interpretation; 'for I have always been sorrier when I could not preach, than any 'could be they could not hear me. It hath been my desire, and God 'may be pleased to grant it, that I might dye in the Pulpit; if not that? 'yet that I might take my death in the Pulpit, that is, dye the sooner by 'occasion of those labours. Sir, I hope to see you presently after Candle-'mas, about which time will fall my Lent-Sermon at Court, except my 'Lord Chamberlain believe me to be dead, and so leave me out of the 'Roll; but as long as I live, and am not speechless, I would not will-'ingly decline that service. I have better leisure to write, than you to 'read; yet I would not willingly oppress you with too much Letter. 'God so bless you and your Son as I wish, to

Your poor friend and servant
in Christ Jesus.

I. Donne.

Before that month ended, he was appointed to preach upon his old constant day, the first Friday in Lent; he had notice of it, and had in his sickness so prepared for that imployment, that as he had long thirsted for it: so he resolved his weakness should not hinder his journey; he came therefore to London, some few days before his appointed day of preaching. At his coming thither, many of his friends (who with sor-

row saw his sickness had left him but so much flesh as did only cover his bones) doubted his strength to perform that task: and did therefore disswade him from undertaking it, assuring him however, it was like to shorten his life; but he passionately denied their requests; saying, he would not doubt that that God who in so many weaknesses had assisted him with an unexpected strength, would now withdraw it in his last employment; professing an holy ambition to perform that sacred work. And, when to the amazement of some beholders he appeared in the Pulpit, many of them thought he presented himself not to preach mortification by a living voice: but, mortality by a decayed body and a dying face. And doubtless, many did secretly ask that question in Ezekiel1; Do these bones live? or, can that soul organize that tongue, to speak so long time as the sand in that glass will move towards its centre, and measure out an hour of this dying mans unspent life? Doubtless it cannot; and yet, after some faint pauses in his zealous prayer, his strong desires enabled his weak body to discharge his memory of his preconceived meditations, which were of dying: the Text being, To God the Lord belong the issues from death. Many that then saw his tears, and heard his faint and hollow voice, professing they thought the Text prophetically chosen, and that Dr. Donne bad preach't bis own Funeral Sermon.

Being full of joy that God had enabled him to perform this desired duty, he hastened to his house; out of which he never moved, till like St. Stephen, he was carried by devout men to his Grave.

The next day after his Sermon, his strength being much wasted, and his spirits so spent, as indisposed him to business, or to talk: A friend that had often been a witness of his free and facetious discourse, asked him, Why are you sad? To whom he replied with a countenance so full of chearful gravity, as gave testimony of an inward tranquillity of mind, and of a soul willing to take a farewell of this world; And said,

'I am not sad, but most of the night past I have entertained my self with many thoughts of several friends that have left me here, and are gone to that place from which they shall not return; And, that within a

¹ Ezek. 37. 3.

'few days I also shall so hence, and be no more seen. And my preparation 'for this change is become my nightly meditation upon my bed, which 'my infirmities have now made restless to me. But, at this present time, 'I was in a serious contemplation of the providence and goodness of 'God to me: to me who am less than the least of his mercies; and looking 'back upon my life past, I now plainly see it was his hand that pre-'vented me from all temporal employment; and that it was his Will I 'should never settle nor thrive till I entred into the Ministry; in which, 'I have now liv'd almost twenty years (I hope to his glory) and by 'which I most humbly thank him, I have been enabled to requite most 'of those friends which shewed me kindness when my fortune was 'very low, as God knows it was: and (as it hath occasioned the ex-'pression of my gratitude) I thank God most of them have stood in 'need of my requital. I have liv'd to be useful and comfortable to my 'good Father in law Sir George Moore, whose patience God hath been 'pleased to exercise with many temporal Crosses; I have maintained 'my own Mother, whom it hath pleased God after a plentiful fortune 'in her younger days, to bring to a great decay in her very old age. I 'have quieted the Consciences of many that have groaned under the 'burthen of a wounded spirit, whose prayers I hope are available for 'me: I cannot plead innocency of life, especially of my youth: But I 'am to be judged by a merciful God, who is not willing to see what I have 'done amiss. And, though of my self I have nothing to present to him 'but sins and misery; yet, I know he looks not upon me now as I am 'of my self, but as I am in my Saviour, and hath given me even at this 'present time some testimonies by his Holy Spirit, that I am of the 'number of his Elect: I am therefore full of unexpressible joy, and shall dye 'in peace.'

I must here look so far back, as to tell the Reader, that at his first return out of Essex to preach his last Sermon, his old Friend and Physitian, Dr. Fox, a man of great worth, came to him to consult his health; and that after a sight of him, and some queries concerning his distempers, he told him, That by Cordials, and drinking milk twenty days together, there was a probability of his restauration to health; but he passionately denied to drink it. Nevertheless, Dr. Fox, who loved him most

intirely, wearied him with sollicitations, till he yielded to take it for ten days; at the end of which time, he told Dr. Fox, he had drunk it more to satisfic him, than to recover his health; and, that he would not drink it ten days longer upon the best moral assurance of having twenty years added to his life; for he loved it not; and was so far from fearing death, which to others is the King of terrors: that he long d for the day of his dissolution.

It is observed, that a desire of glory or commendation is rooted in the very nature of man; and that those of the severest and most mortified lives, though they may become so humble as to banish self-flattery, and such weeds as naturally grow there: yet they have not been able to kill this desire of glory, but that, like our radical heat, it will both live and dye with us; and many think it should do so; and we want not sacred examples to justifie the desire of having our memory to out-live our lives: which I mention, because Dr. Donne, by the perswasion of Dr. Fox, easily yielded at this very time to have a Monument made for him; but Dr. Fox undertook not to perswade him how, or what Monument it should be; that was left to Dr. Donne himself.

A Monument being resolved upon, Dr. Donne sent for a Carver to make for him in wood the figure of an Urn, giving him directions for the compass and height of it; and to bring with it a board of the just height of his body. 'These being got: then, without delay a choice 'Painter was got to be in a readiness to draw his Picture, which was 'taken as followeth. -- Several Charcole-fires being first made in his 'large Study, he brought with him into that place his winding-sheet 'in his hand, and, having put off all his cloaths, had this sheet put on him, and so tyed with knots at his head and feet, and his hands so 'placed, as dead bodies are usually fitted to be shrowded and put into 'their Coffin, or grave. Upon this Urn he thus stood with his eves 'shut, and with so much of the sheet turned aside as might shew his 'lean, pale, and death-like face, which was purposely turned toward 'the East, from whence he expected the second coming of his and our 'Saviour Jesus. In this posture he was drawn at his just height; and when the Picture was fully finished, he caused it to be set by his bedside, where it continued, and became his hourly object till his death: and, was then given to his dearest friend and Executor Doctor Henry

King, then chief Residentiary of St. Pauls, who caused him to be thus carved in one entire piece of white Marble, as it now stands in that Church; and by Doctor Donne's own appointment, these words were to be affixed to it as his Epitaph:

JOHANNES DONNE

SAC. THEOL. PROFESS.

Post varia Studia quibus ab annis tenerrimis fideliter, nec infeliciter incubuit; Instinctu & impulsu Sp. Sancti, Monitu & Hortatu

REGIS JACOBI, Ordines Sacros amplexus Anno sui Jesu, 1614. & suæ ætatis 42. Decanatu bujus Ecclesiæ indutus 27. Novembris 1621.

Exutus morte ultimo Die Martii 1631. Hic licet in Occiduo Cinere Aspicit Eum Cujus nomen est Oriens.

And now, having brought him through the many labyrinths and perplexities of a various life: even to the gates of death and the grave; my desire is, he may rest till I have told my Reader, that I have seen many Pictures of him, in several habits, and, at several ages, and, in several postures: And I now mention this, because I have seen one Picture of him, drawn by a curious hand at his age of eighteen; with his sword and what other adornments might then suit with the present fashions of youth, and the giddy gayeties of that age: and his Motto then was,

How much shall I be chang'd, Before I am chang'd.

And if that young, and his now dying Picture, were at this time set together, every beholder might say, Lord! How much is Dr. Donne already chang'd, before he is chang'd? And the view of them might give my Reader occasion, to ask himself with some amazement, Lord! How much may I also, that am now in health he chang'd, before I am chang'd? before this vile, this changeable body shall put off mortality? and therefore to prepare for it.—But this is not writ so much for my Readers Memento, as to tell him, that Dr. Donne would often in his private discourses, and often publickly in his Sertmons, mention the many changes both of his body and mind: especially of his mind from a vertiginous giddiness; and would as often say, His great and most blessed change was from a temporal, to a spiritual implayment: in which he was so happy, that he accounted the former part of his life to be lost. And, the beginning of it to be, from his first entring into sacred Orders; and serving his most merciful God at his Altar.

Upon Monday after the drawing this Picture, he took his last leave of his beloved Study; and, being sensible of his hourly decay, retired himself to his bed-chamber: and that week sent at several times for many of his most considerable friends, with whom he took a solemn and deliberate farewell; commending to their considerations some sentences useful for the regulation of their lives, and then dismist them, as good Jacob did his sons, with a spiritual benediction. The Sunday following he appointed his servants, that if there were any business yet undone that concerned him or themselves, it should be prepared against Saturday next; for after that day he would not mix his thoughts with any thing that concerned this world; nor ever did: But, as Job, so he waited for the appointed day of his dissolution.

And now he was so happy as to have nothing to do but to dye; to do which, he stood in need of no longer time, for he had studied it long; and to so happy a perfection, that in a former sickness he called God to witness! he was that minute ready to deliver his soul into his hands, if that minute God would determine his dissolution. In that sickness he beg'd of God the constancy to be preserved in that estate for ever; and his

¹ In his Book of Devotions written then,

patient expectation to have his immortal soul disrob'd from her garment of mortality, makes me confident he now had a modest assurance that his Prayers were then heard, and his Petition granted. He lay fifteen days earnestly expecting his hourly change; and, in the last hour of his last day, as his body melted away and vapoured into spirit. his soul having. I verily believe, some Revelation of the Beatifical Vision, he said. I were miserable if I might not dve; and after those words. closed many periods of his faint breath, by saying often, Thy Kingdom come, Thy Will de done. His speech, which had long been his ready and faithful servant, left him not till the last minute of his life, and then forsook him not to serve another Master (for who speaks like him) but dved before him, for that it was then become useless to him that now conversed with God on earth, as Angels are said to do in heaven, only by thoughts and looks. Being speechless, and seeing heaven by that illumination by which he saw it; he did, as St. Stephen, look stedfastly into it, till he saw the Son of man, standing at the right hand of God his Father; and being satisfied with this blessed sight, as his soul ascended, and his last breath departed from him, he closed his own eves; and then disposed his hands and body into such a posture as required not the least alteration by those that came to shroud him.

Thus variable, thus vertuous was the Life; thus excellent, thus exemplary was the Death of this memorable man.

He was buried in that place of St. Pauls Church which he had appointed for that use some years before his death; and by which he
passed daily to pay his publick devotions to Almighty God (who
was then served twice a day by a publick form of Prayer and Praises
in that place) but he was not buried privately, though he desired it;
for, beside an unnumbred number of others, many persons of Nobility,
and of eminency for Learning, who did love and honour him in his
life, did shew it at his death, by a voluntary and sad attendance of his
body to the grave, where nothing was so remarkable as a publick sorrow.

To which place of his Burial some mournful Friend repaired, and as Alexander the Great did to the grave of the famous Achilles, so they strewed his with an abundance of curious and costly Flowers, which course they (who were never yet known) continued morning and

evening for many days; not ceasing, till the stones that were taken up in that Church to give his body admission into the cold earth (now his bed of rest) were again by the Masons art so levelled and firm'd, as they had been formerly; and his place of Burial undistinguishable to common view.

The next day after his Burial, some unknown friend, some one, of the many lovers and admirers of his vertue and learning; writ this Epitaph with a cole on the wall, over his grave.

> Reader! I am to let thee know, Donne's Body only, lyes below: For, could the grave his Soul comprize? Earth would be richer then the skies.

Nor was this all the Honor done to his reverend Ashes; for as there be some persons that will not receive a reward for that for which God accounts himself a Debtor: persons, that dare trust God with their Charity, and without a witness; so there was by some grateful unknown Friend, that thought Dr. Donne's memory ought to be perspetuated, an hundred Marks sent to his two faithful Friends¹ and Executors, towards the making of his Monument. It was not for many years known by whom; but, after the death of Dr. Fox, it was known that 'twas he that sent it; and he lived to see as lively a representation of his dead Friend, as Marble can express; a Statue indeed so like Dr. Donne, that (as his Friend Sir Henry Wotton hath expressed himself) it seems to breath faintly; and, Posterity shall look upon it as a kind of artificial Miracle.

He was of Stature moderately tall, of a strait and equally-proportioned body, to which all his words and actions gave an unexpressible addition of Comeliness. The melancholy and pleasant humor, were in him so contempered, that each gave advantage to the other, and made his Company one of the delights of Man.

His fancy was unimitably high, equalled only by his great wit; both being made useful by a commanding judgment.

¹ Dr. King and Dr. Monfort.

His aspect was chearful, and such, as gave a silent testimony of a clear knowing soul, and of a Conscience at peace with it self.

His melting eye, shewed that he had a soft heart, full of noble compassion; of too brave a soul to offer injuries, and too much a Christian not to pardon them in others.

He did much contemplate (especially after he entred into his Sacred Calling) the mercies of Almighty God, the immortality of the Soul, and the joyes of Heaven; and would often say, in a kind of sacred extaste—Blessed he God that he is God only, and divinely like himself.

He was by nature highly passionate, but more apt to reluct at the excesses of it. A great lover of the offices of humanity, and of so merciful a spirit, that he never beheld the miseries of Mankind without pity and relief.

He was earnest and unwearied in the search of knowledge; with which, his vigorous soul is now satisfied, and employed in a continual praise of that God that first breathed it into his active body; that body, which once was a Temple of the Holy Ghost, and is now become a small quantity of Christian dust:
But I shall see it re-inspirated.

I.W.

Feb. 15. 1639.

An epitaph written by Dr. Corbet, late Bishop of Oxford, on his friend Dr. Donne.

He that wou'd write an Epitaph for thee. And write it well, must first begin to be Such as thou wert: for, none can truly know Thy life and worth, but be that bath liv'd so. He must have wit to spare, and to burl down, Enough to keep the Gallants of the Town. He must have Learning plenty, both the Laws, Civil and Common, to judge any Cause. Divinity great store above the rest. Not of the last Edition, but the best. He must have language, travel, all the Arts. Judgment to use, or else be wants thy parts. He must have friends the highest, able to do, Such as Mecænas, and Augustus too. He must have such a sickness, such a death, Or else his vain descriptions come beneath. He that would write an Epitaph for thee, Should first be dead; let it alone for me.

To the memory of my ever desired Dr. Donne.

An elegy by H. King,
late Bishop of Chichester.

To have liv'd eminent in a degree Beyond our loftiest thoughts, that is like thee; Or t'have had too much merit, is not safe, For such excesses find no Epitaph. At common graves we have poetick eyes,

Can melt themselves in easie Elegies: Each auill can drop his tributary verse. And vin it like the hatchments to the berse: But at thine, Poem or Inscription (Rich soul of wit and language) we have none. Indeed a silence does that Tomb befit. Where is no Herauld left to blazon it. Widow'd invention justly doth forbear To come abroad, knowing thou art not there: Late her great Patron, whose prerogative Maintain'd and cloath'd her so, as none alive Must now presume to keep her at the rate. Though he the Indies for her dower estate. Or else that awful fire which once did burn In thy clear brain, now fallen into thy Urn, Lives there to fright rude Empericks from thence, Which might profane thee by their Ignorance. Whoever writes of thee, and in a stile Unworthy such a theme, does but revile Thy precious dust, and wakes a learned spirit. Which may revenge his rapes upon thy merit: For all a low-pitch't fancy can devise, Will prove at best but ballowed injuries.

Thou like the dying Swan didst lately sing Thou ununful dirge in audience of the King; When pale looks and faint accents of thy breath Presented so to life that piece of death, That it was fear'd and prophesi'd by all Thou thither cam's to preach thy Eunerall. Oh badst thou in an Elegiack hnell Rung out unto the World thine own farewell, And in thy high victorious numbers beat The solemn measures of thy griev'd retreat, Thou might's the Poets service now have mist, As well as then thou didst prevent the Priest:

And never to the World beholden be, So much as for an Epitaph for thee.

I do not like the office; nor is't fit
Thou who didst lend our age such sums of wit,
Should'st now re-borrow from her bankrupt Mine
That our to bury thee which first was thine:
Rather still leave us in thy debt, and know,
Exalted Soul, more glory' tis to owe
Thy memory what we can never pay,
Than with embased Coyn those Rites defray.

Commit we then thee to thy self, nor blame
Our drooping loves that thus to thine own fame
Leave thee Executor, since but thine own
No pen could do thee Justice, nor bayes Crown
Thy wast deserts; save that, we nothing can
Depute to be thy ashes guardian:

So, Jewellers no Art or Metal trust To form the Diamond, but the Diamonds dust.

H. K.

An elegy on Dr. Donne.

Our Donne is dead! and, we may sighing say, We had that man where Language chose to stay And shew her utmost power. I wou'd not praise That, and his great Wit, which in our vain days Make others proud; but, as these sero'd to unlock That Cahinet his mind, where such a stock Of knowledge was repos'd, that I lament Our just and general cause of discontent.

And, I rejoyce I am not so severe, But as I write a Line, to weep a tear For his decease: such sad Extremities Can make such men as I write Elegies.

And wonder not; for, when so great a loss Falls on a Nation, and they slight the Cross, God bath rais' d Prophets to awaken them From their dull Lethangy: witness my Pen, Not us' d to upbraid the World, though now it must Freely, and boldly, for, the Cause is just.

Dull age! ob, I wou'd spare thee, but thou'rt worse: Thou art not only dull, but, host a Curse Of black Ingratitude: if not? Couldst thou Part with this matchless man, and make no vow For thee and thine successively to pay, Some sad remembrance to his dying day?

Did bis Youth scatter Poetry, wherein
Lay Loves Philosophy? Was every sin
Pictur'd in his sharp Satyrs, made so foul
That some have fear'd sins shapes, and kept their soul
Safer by reading Verse? Did he give days,
Past marble Monuments to those whose praise
He wou'd perpetuate? Did he (I fear
Enny will doubt) these at his twentieth year?

But more matur'd: did bis rich soul conceive, And, in harmonious boly numbers weave A Crown of Sacred' Sonners, fit 'adorn A dying Martyrs brow: or, to be worn On that blest head of Mary Magdalen, After she wip'd Christs feet; but not, till then. Did be (fit for such Penitents as she And be to use) leave us a Letanie, Which all devout men love: and, doubtless shall As times grow better, grow more Classicall.

Did be write Hymns, for Piety and Wit,
Equal to those great grave Prudentius write
Spake be all Languager? Knew he all Law?
The grounds and use of Physick: but, because
'Twas mercenary, wou'd it: went to see
That happy place of Christs Nativity.
Did be return and preach bim? preach bim so
As since St. Paul none ever did! they know:
Those happy souls that bear'd bim know this truth.
Did be confirm thy ag de convert thy youthe
Did be these wonders! and, is his dear loss
Mourrid by so few? few for so great a Cross.

But sure, the silent are ambitious all
To be close Mourners at his Funerall.
If not? in common pity, they forbear
By Repetitions to renew our care:
Or knowing grief conceiv'd, and hid, consumes
Mans sife insensibly (as poison fumes
Corrupt the brain) take silence for the way
T'inlarge the soul from those walls, mud, and clay,
Materials of this body: to remain
With him in heaven, where no promiscuous pain
Lessens those joys we have: for, with him all
Are satisfied, with joyes essentiall.

Dwell on these joyes my thoughts: oh, do not call Crief hack, by thinking on his Funerall!
Forget he lou'd me: waste not my swift years
Which baste to Davids swenty, fill'd with fears
And sorrows for his death: Forget his parts,
They find a living grave in good mens hearts.
And, for my first is daily paid for sin:
Forget to pay my second sigh for him.
Forget his powerful preaching: and, forget
I am his Convert. Oh my fraitly! let

My flesh be no more heard: it will obtrude
This Lethargy: so shou'd my gratitude;
My vours of gratitude shou'd so be broke;
Which, can no more be, than his vertues spoke
By any but himself: for which cause, I
Write no Incomiums, but this Elegy.
Which, as a Free-will offering, I here give
Fame and the World: and, parting with it, grieve,
I want abilities, fit to set forth,
A Monument, as matchless as his worth.

Tr. Wa

April 7. 1631.

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THE LIFE OF

SIR HENRY WOTTON

LATE PROVOST OF EATON COLLEGE

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TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE, THE LADY MARY WOTTON BARONNESS, AND TO HER THREE NOBLE DAUGHTERS, THE LADY KATHERIN STANHOP,

THE LADY MARGARET TUFTON,

7

Since Books seem by custom to challenge a dedication, Justice would not allow, that what either was, or concern'd Sir Henry Wotton, should be appropriated to any other Persons; Not only for that nearness of Alliance and Blood (by which you may challenge a civil right to what was his;) but, by a title of that intireness of Affection, which was in you to each other, when Sir Henry Wotton had a being upon Earth.

And since yours was a Friendship made up of generous Principles, as I cannot doubt but these indeavours to preserve his Memory will be acceptable to all that loved him; so especially to you from whom I have had such incouragements as hath imboldeed me to this Dedication.

Which you are most humbly intreated may be accepted from

**

Your very real servant,

I. W.

[1651]

To the Right Honourable Philip Earl of Chesterfield, Lord Stanhop of Shelford

My Lord,

I have conceived many Reasons, why I ought in Justice to Dedicate these Reliques of Your Great Uncle, Sir Henry Wotton, to Your Lordship: some of which are, that both Your Grand-mother and Mother had a double Right to them by a Dedication when first made Publick; as also, for their assisting me then, and since with many Material Informations for the Writing his Life; and for giving me many of the Letters that have fallen from his curious Pen: so that they being now dead, these Reliques descend to You, as Heir to them, and the inheritor of the memorable Bocton Palace, the Place of his Birth, where so many of the Ancient, and Prudent, and Valiant Family of the Wottons lie now Buried: whose remarkable Monuments You have lately Beautified, and to them added so many of so great Worth as hath made it appear, that at the Erecting and adorning them. You were above the thought of Charge, that they might, if possible, (for 'twas no easie undertaking) hold some proportion with the Merits of Vour Ancestors

My Lord, These are a part of many more Reasons, that have inclin'd me to this Dedication; and these, with the Example of a Liberty that is not given, but now too usually taken by many Scriblers, to make triffling Dedications, might have begot a boldness in some Men of as mean as my mean Abilities to have undertaken this. But indeed, my Lord, though I was ambitious enough of undertaking it; yet, as Sir Henry Wotton hath said in a Piece of his own Character, That he was condemn'd by Nature to a bashfulness in making Requests: so I find my self (pardon the Parallel) so like him in this, that if I had not had more Reasons than I have yet expresst, these alone had not been powerful enough to have created a Confidence in me to have attempted it. Two of my unexpresst Reasons are (give me leave to tell them to Your Lordship and the World) that Sir Henry Wotton;

TO THE READER

whose many Merits made him an Ornament even to your Family, was yet so humble, as to acknowledge me to be his Friend; and died in a belief that I was so: since which time, I have made him the best return of my Gratitude for his Condescention, that I have been able to express, or he capable of receiving: and, am pleased with my self for so doing.

My other Reason for this boldness, is, an incouragement (very like a command) from Your Worthy Cousin, and my Friend, Mr. Charles Cotton, who hath assured me, That You are such a Lover of the memory of Your Generous Uncle, Sir Henry Wotton, that if there were no other Reason than my endeavors to preserve it, yet, that that alone would secure this Dedication from being unacceptable.

I wish, that not he, nor I be mistaken; and that I were able to make You a more Worthy Present.

My Lord, I am and will be

Your Humble and most

Affectionate Servant,

Izaak Walton.

Feb. 27. 1672.

AN ADVERTISEMENT TO THE READER

You may be pleas'd to take notice, that in this last Relation of Sir Henry Wotton's Life, 'tis both inlarg'd, and some small errors rectified; so that I may now be confident, there is no material mistakes in it.

There is in this Impression an Addition of many Letters; in which, the spirit with which they were writ, will assure them to be Sir Henry Wotton's.

For his Merits, they are above my expressions; and for that Reason, the Reader is requested to take to what I have said of him in his Life, these following Testimonies.

I. That his Work of Architecture is Translated into Latin, Printed with the Great Vittuvius, and this Elogy prefixed,

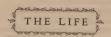
HENRICUS WOTTONIUS Anglo Cantianus, Thomae Optimi Viri Filius natu minimus, a Setenissimo Jacobo 1º, MAGNAE BRITANIAE, etc. Rege in Equestem Titulum ascitus: giusdemque ter ad Remp. VENETAM Legatus Ordinarius; semel ad Confoederatarum Provinciarum Ordines in Juliacensi negotio; bis ad Carolum Emmanuelem Sabaudiae Ducem; semel ad unitos Superioris Germaniae Principes in Conventu Heilbrunnensi; postremo ad Archiducem Leopoldum Ducem Wittenbergensem, civitates Imperiales, Argentinam Ulmamque, & ipsum Romanotum Imperatorem Ferdinandum II, Legatus extraordinarius; Tandem hoc didicit,

Animas sapentiores fieri quiescendo.

II. The second testimony is that of the great Secretary of Nature, the Lord Chancellor Bacon, who thought it not beneath Him to collect some of the Apothegems and savings of this Author.

III. Sir Richard Baker in his Chronicle of England sets to his Seal also in a passage thus; (speaking of men of Note in King James his time)—Sir Henry Wotton was sent Ambassador into Italy—and indeed the Kingdom yielded not a fitter man to match the Capriciousness of the Italian wits. A man of so able dexterity with his Pen, that he hath done himself much wrong, and the Kingdom a great deal more, in leaving no more of his Writings behind him.

[1672]



CIR Henry Wotton (whose Life I now intend to write) was born Sin the Year of our Redemption 1568. in Bocton Hall (commonly called Bocton, or Bougton-place, or Palace) in the Parish of Bocton Malherb, in the fruitful Country of Kent: Bocton-hall being an ancient and goodly Structure, beautifying, and being beautified by the Parish Church of Bocton Malherb adjoyning unto it; and both seated within a fair Park of the Wottons, on the Brow of such a Hill, as gives the advantage of a large Prospect, and of equal pleasure to all Beholders. But this House and Church are not remarkable for any thing so much, as for that the memorable Family of the Wottons have so long inhabited the one, and now lye buried in the other, as appears by their many Monuments in that Church: the Wottons being a Family that hath brought forth divers Persons eminent for Wisdom and Valour; whose Heroick Acts, and Noble Employments, both in England and in Foreign parts, have adorned themselves and this Nation; which they have served abroad faithfully, in the discharge of their great trust, and prudently in their Negotiations with several Princes; and also served at home with much Honour and Justice, in their wise manag-

But lest I should be thought by any that may incline either to deny or doubt this Truth, not to have observed moderation in the commendation of this Family: and also, for that I believe the merits and memory of such Persons ought to be thankfully recorded, I shall offer to the consideration of every Reader, out of the testimony of their Pedgree, and our Chronicles, a part (and but a part) of that just Commendation which might be from thence enlarged, and shall then leave the indifferent Reader to judge whether my error be an excess or defect of Commendations.

ing a great part of the Publick Affairs thereof, in the various times

both of War and Peace.

Sir Robert Wotton of Bocton Malberb Kt. was born about the Year of Christ 1460: he living in the Reign of King Edward the Fourth, was

by him trusted to be Lieutenant of Guisnes, to be Knight Porter, and Comptroler of Callais, where he died, and lies honourably buried. Sir Edward Wotten of Bocton Malberb Knight (Son and Heir of the said Sir Robert) was born in the Year of Christ 1489, in the Reign of King Henry the Seventh: he was made Treasurer of Callais, and of the Privy Councel to King Henry the Eighth, who offered him to be Lord Chancellor of England; but (saith Hollinsbed) out of a virtuous modesty he refused it.

Thomas Wotton of Bocton Malberb Esquire, Son and Heir of the said Sir Edward (and the Father of our Sir Henry, that occasions this Relation) was born in the Year of Christ 1521; he was a Gentleman excellently educated, and studious in all the Liberal Arts, in the knowledge whereof he attained unto a great perfection; who, though he had (besides those abilities, a very Noble and plentiful Estate, and the ancient Interest of his Predecessors) many invitations from Queen Elizabeth to change his Country Recreations and Retirement for a Court. offering him a Knight-hood (she was then with him at his Boctonball) and that to be but as an earnest of some more honourable and more profitable employment under Her; yet he humbly refused both, being a man of great modesty, of a most plain and single heart, of an ancient freedom, and integrity of mind. A commendation which Sir Henry Wotton took occasion often to remember with great gladness, and thank fully to boast himself the Son of such a Father: From whom indeed he derived that noble ingenuity that was alwayes practiced by himself. and which he ever both commended and cherished in others. This Thomas was also remarkable for Hospitality, a great Lover, and much beloved of his Country; to which may justly be added, that he was a Cherisher of Learning, as appears by that excellent Antiquary Mr. William Lambert, in his Perambulation of Kent.

This Thomas had four Sons, Sir Edward, Sir James, Sir John, and Sir Henry.

Sir Edward was Knighted by Queen Elizabeth, and made Comptroller of Her Majesties Houshold. He was (saith Cambden) a man re-

markable for many and great Employments in the State, during Her Reign, and sent several times Ambassador into Foreign Nations. After Her death, he was by King James made Comptroller of his Houshold. and called to be of His Privy Councel, and by him advanced to be Lord Wotton, Baron of Merley in Kent, and made Lord Lieutenant of that County

Sir James (the second Son) may be numbered among the Martial Men of his Age, who was in the 38 of Queen Elizabeths Reign (with Robert Earl of Sussex, Count Lodowick of Nassaw, Don Christophoro, Son of Antonio King of Portugal, and divers other Gentlemen of Nobleness and Valour) Knighted in the Field near Cadiz in Spain, after they had gotten great Honor and Riches, besides a notable retaliation of Injuries by taking that Town.

Sir John, being a Gentleman excellently accomplished, both by Learning and Travel, was Knighted by Queen Elizabeth, and by Her look'd upon with more than ordinary favour, and with intentions of preferment; but Death in his younger years put a period to his growing hopes.

Of Sir Henry, my following discourse shall give an account.

The descent of these fore-named Wottons were all in a direct Line: and most of them and their actions, in the memory of those with whom we have conversed: But if I had looked so far back as to Sir Nicholas Wotton (who lived in the Reign of King Richard the Second) or before him, upon divers others of great note in their several Ages, I might by some be thought tedious; and yet others may more justly think me neeligent, if I omit to mention Nicholas Wotton, the fourth Son of Sir Robert, whom I first named.

This Nicholas Wotton was Doctor of Law, and sometime Dean both of York and Canterbury: a man whom God did not only bless with a long life, but with great abilities of mind, and an inclination to imploy them in the service of his Countrey, as is testified by his several Imployments;1 having been sent nine times Ambassador unto Forraign Princes; and by his being a Privy-Councellor to King Henry the eighth,

¹ Cambden in bis Britannia.

to Edward the sixth, to Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth; who also, after he had been during the Wars between England, Scotland and France, three several times (and not unsuccessfully) imployed in Committies for setling of peace betwixt this and those Kingdoms, died (saith learned Cambden) full of Commendations for Wisdom and Piety—He was also by the Will of King Henry the eighth, made one of his Executors, and chief Secretary of State to his Son, that pious Prince Edward the sixth.—Concerning which Nitholas Wotton, I shall say but this little more; That he refused (being offered it by Qu. Elizabeth) to be¹ Arbbishop of Canterbury, and that he died not rich, though he lived in that time of the dissolution of Abbeys.

More might be added: but by this it may appear, that Sir Henry Wotton was a Branch of such a kindred as left a Stock of Reputation to their Posterity; such Reputation, as might kindle a generous emulation in Strangers, and preserve a noble ambition in those of his Name and Family, to perform Actions worthy of their Ancestors.

And that Sir Henry Wotton did so, might appear more perfectly then my Pen can express it, if of his many surviving friends, some one of higher parts and implyment, had been pleas' do hour commended his to Posterity; But since some years are now past, and they have all (I know not why) forborn to do it; my gratitude to the memory of my dead friend, and the renewed request of some that still live solicitous to see this duty performed; these have had a power to persuade me to undertake it; which, truly, I have not done, but with some distrust of mine own Abilities, and yet so far from despair, that I am modestly confident my bumble language shall be accepted, because I shall present all Readers with a Commixture of truth, and Sir Henry Wotton's merits.

This being premised, I proceed to tell the Reader, that the Father of Sir Henry Wotton was twice married, first to Elizabeth, the Daughter of Sir John Rudstone Knight; after whose death, though his inclination was averse to all Contentions; yet necessitated he was to several Suits in Law: in the prosecution whereof (which took up much of his time,

¹ Hollinshead.

² Sir Edward Bish Clarentieux King of Arms, M. Charls Cotton, and, Mr. Nick Oudert sometime Sir Hen. Wotton's Servant.

and were the occasion of many Discontents) he was by divers of his friends earnestly perswaded to a remartisge, to whom he as often answered. That if ever he did put on a resolution to marry, be was seriously resolved to avoid three sorts of persons:

namely, those that had Lawsuits. that were of his Kindred.

And yet, following his own Law-suits, he met in Westminster-ball with Mits. Elionora Mortan, Widow to Rebert Mortan of Kent Esquire; who was also engaged in several Suits in Law: and, he observing her Comportment at the time of hearing one of her Causes before the Judges, could not but at the same time both compassionate her Condition, and affect her Person (for, the tears of Lovers, or Beauty dets in sadness, are observ'd to have in them a Charming Eloquence; and to become very often too strong to be resisted) which I mention, because it prov'd so with this Thomas Wotton, for although there were in her a concurrence of all those accidents, against which he had so seriously resolved, yet his affection to her grew then so strong, that he resolved to solicite her for a Wife; and did, and obtained her.

By her (who was the Daughter of Sir William Finch of Eastwell in Kent) he had only Henry his youngest Son. — His Mother undertook to be Tutoress unto him during much of his Childhood; for whose care and pains, he paid her each day with such visible signs of future perfection in Learning, as turned her imployment into a pleasing-trouble: which she was content to continue, till his Father took him into his own particular care, and disposed of him to a Tutor in his own House at Bocton.

And, when time and diligent instruction had made him fit for a removal to an higher Form, (which was very early) he was sent to Winchetter-School, a place of strite Discipline and Order: that so, he might in his youth be moulded into a Method of living by Rule, which his wise Father knew to be the most necessary way, to make the future part of his life, both happy to himself, and useful for the discharge of all business, whether publick or private.

And that he might be confirmed in this regularity, he was at a fit age removed from that School, to be a Commoner of New-Colledge in Oxford; both being founded by William Wickbam Bishop of Winchester.

There he continued, till about the eighteenth year of his Age; and was then transplanted into Queens-Colledge; where within that year he was by the chief of that Colledge, perswasively injoyned to write a Play for their private use (it was the Tragedy of Tancredo) which was so interwoven with Sentences, and for the Method and exact personating those humours, passions, and dispositions, which he proposed to represent, so performed, that the gravest of that society declared, he had in a sleight imployment, given an early and a solid testimony of his future abilities. And though there may be some sowr dispositions, which may think this not worth a memorial; yet that wise Knight Baptita Guarini (whom learned Italy accounts one of her ornaments) thought it neither an uncomely, nor an unprofitable imployment for his Age.

But I pass to what will be thought more serious.

About the twentieth year of his Age, he proceeded Master of Arts; and at that time read in Latine three Lectures de Oculo: wherein, he having described the Form, the Motion, the curious composure of the Eye: and demonstrated, how of those very many, every humour and nerve performs its distinct Office, so as the God of Order hath appointed, without mixture or confusion; and all this, to the advantage of man, to whom the Eye is given, not only as the Bodies guide, but, whereas all other of his senses require time to inform the Soul, this in an instant apprehends and warns him of danger: teaching him in the very eyes of others, to discover wit, folly, love, and batred: After he had made these Observations, he fell to dispute this Optique Question, Whether we see by the Emission of the Beams from within, or Reception of the Species from without? and after that, and many other like learned disquisitions, he in the Conclusion of his Lectures, took a fair occasion to beautifie his Discourse with a Commendation of the blessing and benefit of Seeing: By which, we do not only discover Natures Secrets: but with a continued content (for the eye is never weary of seeing) behold the great Light of the World, and by it, discover the Fabrick of the Heavens, and both

the Order and Motion of the Celestial Orbs; nay, that if the eye look but downward, it may rejoice to behold the bosome of the Earth, our common Mother, embroidered and adorned with numberless and various Flowers, which man sees daily grow up to perfection, and then silently moralize his own condition, who in a short time (like those very Flowers) decayes, wither, and quickly returns again to that Earth, from which both but their first being,

These were so exactly debated, and so Rhetorically heightned, as, among other admirers, caused that learned Italian, Albericus Gentilis (then Professor of the Civil Law in Oxford) to call him Henrice mi ocelle; which dear expression of his, was also used by divers of Sir Henry's dearest Friends, and by many other persons of Note, during his stay in the University.

But his stay there was not long; at least, not so long as his Friends once intended: for the year after Sir Henry proceeded Master of Arts, his Father (whom Sir Henry did never mention without this, or some like reverential expression; as, That good man my Father, or, My Father the best of men:) about that time, this good man changed this for a better life; leaving to Sir Henry, as to his other younger Sons, a Rent-charge of an hundred Mark a year, to be paid for ever, out of some one of his Mannors of a much greater value.

And here, though this good man be dead, yet I wish a Circumstance or two that concern him, may not be buried without a Relation; which I shall undertake to do, for that I suppose, they may so much concern the Reader to know, that I may promise my self a pardon for a short digression.

In the year of our Redemption, 1553. Nicholas Wotton Dean of Canterbury (whom I formerly mentioned) being then Ambassador in France, dream'd, that his Nephew, this Thomas Wotton, was inclined to be a party in such a project, as, if he were not suddenly prevented, would turn both to the loss of his life, and ruine of his Family.

Doubtless, the good Dean did well know, that common Dreams are but a senseless paraphrase on our waking thoughts; or, of the business of the day past; or, are the result of our over-engaged affections, when we betake our selves to rest; and knew that the observation of them.

may turn to silly Superstitions; as they too often do: But, though he might know all this, and might also believe that Prophesies are ceased: vet, doubtless he could not but consider, that all Dreams are not to be neglected or cast away without all consideration: and did therefore rather lay this Dream aside, then intend totally to lose it; and dreaming the same again the Night following, when it became a double Dream. like that of Pharaoh (of which double dreams, the learned have made many observations) and considering that it had no dependance on his waking thoughts, much less on the desires of his heart, then he did more seriously consider it; and remembred that Almighty God was pleased in a Dream to reveal and to assure 1 Monica the Mother of St. Austin, that he, her Son for whom she wept so bitterly, and prayed so much, should at last become a Christian: This I believe, the good Dean considered; and considering also that Almighty God (though the causes of Dreams be often unknown) hath even in these latter times also, by a certain illumination of the Soul in sleep, discovered many things that humane wisdom could not foresee: Upon these considerations, he resolved to use so prudent a remedy by way of prevention, as might introduce no great inconvenience either to himself or to his Nephew. And to that end, he wrote to the Queen ('twas Queen Mary) and besought her, That she would cause his Nephew Thomas Wotton, to be sent for out of Kent: and that the Lords of her Council might interrogate him in some such feigned Questions, as might give a colour for his Commitment into a favourable Prison; declaring, that he would acquaint her Majesty with the true reason of his request, when he should next become so happy as to see, and speak to her Majesty.

'Twas done as the Dean desired: and in Prison I must leave Mr. Wotton, till I have told the Reader what followed.

At this time a Marriage was concluded betwixt our Queen Mary, and Philip King of Spain: And though this was concluded with the advice, if not by the perswasion of her Privy Council, as having many probabilities of advantage to this Nation: yet divers persons of a contrary perswasion, did not only declare against it, but also raised Forces to

oppose it; believing (as they said) it would be a means to bring England to be under a subjection to Spain, and make those of this Nation slaves to Strangers.

And of this number Sir Thomas Wyat of Boxley-Abbey in Kent (betwixt whose Family, and the Family of the Wottons, there had been an ancient and entire friendship) was the principal Actor; who having perswaded many of the Nobility and Gentry (especially of Kent) to side with him, and he being defeated, and taken Prisoner, was legally arraigned and condemned, and lost his life: So did the Duke of Suffolk, and divers others, especially many of the Gentry of Kent, who were there in several places executed as Wyat's assistants.

And of this number, in all probability, had Mr. Wotton been if he had not been confind's for, though he could not be ignorant that an other mans Treason makes it mine by concealing it; yet he durst confess to his Uncle, when he returned into England, and then came to visit him in Prison, that he had more then an intimation of Wyat's intentions; and thought he had not continued actually innocent, if his Uncle had not so happily dream'd him into a Prison; out of which place, when he was delivered by the same hand that caused his Commitment, they both considered the Dream more seriously; and then, both joined in praising God for it; That God, who tyes himself to no Rules, either in preventing of evil, or in shewing of mercy to those, whom of good pleasure he bath chosen to love.

And this Dream was the more considerable, because that God who in the days of old did use to speak to his people in Visions, did seem to speak to many of this Family in dreams: of which I will also give the Reader one short particular of this Thomas Wotton, whose dreams did usually prove true, both in foretelling things to come, and discovering things past: And the particular is this; This Thomas, a little before his death, dream'd that the University Treasury was robbed by Tournsmen, and poor Scholars; and, that the number was five: And being that day to write to his Son Henry at Oxford, he thought it worth so much pains, as by a Postscript in his Letter, to make a slight enquiry of it; the Letter (which was writ out of Kent, and dated three days before) came to his Sons hands the very morning after the night

in which the Robbery was committed; and when the City and University were both in a perplext Enquest of the Thieves, then did Sir Henry Wotton shew his Fathers Letter, and by it such light was given of this work of durkness, that the five guilty persons were presently discovered, and apprehended, without putting the University to so much trouble, as the easting of a Figure.

And it may yet be more considerable, that this Nicholas and Thomas Wotton should both (being men of holy lives, of even tempers, and much given to fasting and prayer) foresee and foretell the very days of their own death: Nicholas did so, being then Seventy years of age, and in perfect health. Thomas did the like in the sixty fifth year of his age; who being then in London (where he dyed) and foreseeing his death there, gave direction in what manner his Body should be carried to Bocton; and, though he thought his Uncle Nicholas worthy of that noble Monument which he built for him in the Cathedral Church of Canterbury; set this humble man gave direction concerning himself, to be buried privately, and especially without any pomp at his Funetal. This is some account of this Family, which seemed to be beloved of God

But it may now seem more then time that I return to Sir Henry Wotton at Oxford; where, after his optick Lecture, he was taken into such a bosom friendship with the Learned Alberius Gentilis (whom I formerly named) that if it had been possible, Gentilis would have breathed all his excellent knowledge, both of the Mathematicke and Law, into the breast of his dear Harry (for so Gentilis used to call him) and though he was not able to do that, yet there was in Sir Henry such a propensity and connaturalness to the Italian Language, and those Studies whereof Gentilis was a great Master, that his friendship between then did daily increase, and proved daily advantagious to Sir Henry, for the improvement of him in several Sciences, during his stay in the University.

From which place, before I shall invite the Reader to follow him into a Foreign Nation, though I must omit to mention divers Persons that were then in Oxford, of memorable note for Learning, and Friends to Sir Henry Wattors, yet I must not omit the mention of a love that

was there begun betwixt him and Dr. Donne (sometimes Dean of St. Pauls) a man of whose abilities I shall forbear to say any thing, because he who is of this Nation, and pretends to Learning or Ingenuity, and is ignorant of Dr. Donne, deserves not to know him. The friendship of these two I must not omit to mention, being such a friendship as was generously elemented: And as it was begun in their Youth, and in an University, and there maintained by correspondent Inclinations and Studies, so it lasted till Age and Death forced a Separation.

In Oxford he stayed till about two years after his Fathers death; at which time, he was about the two and twentieth year of his Age: and having to his great Wit added the ballast of Learning, and knowledge of the Arts, he then laid aside his Books, and betook himself to the useful Library of Travel, and a more general Conversation with Mankind; employing the remaining part of his Youth, his industry and fortune, to adorn his mind, and to purchase the rich Treasure of Foreign knowledge; of which, both for the secrets of Nature, the dispositions of many Nations, their several Laws and Languages, he was the Possessor in a very large measure; as I shall faithfully make to appear, before I take my Pen from the following Natration of his Life.

In his Travels, which was almost nine years before his return into England, he stayed but one year in France, and most of that in Geneva; where he became acquainted with Theodor Beza (then very aged) and with Issae Cassubon, in whose house (if I be rightly informed) Sir Henry Wotton was lodged, and there contracted a most worthy friendship with that man of tare Learning and Ingenuity.

Three of the remaining eight years were spent in Germany, the other five in Italy (the Stage on which God appointed he should act a great part of his life) where both in Rome, Venice, and Florence, he became acquainted with the most eminent men for Learning, and all manner of Arts; as Picture, Sculpture, Chymistry, Architecture, and other manual Arts, even Arts of Inferiour nature; of all which, he was a most dear Lover, and a most excellent fudge.

He returned out of Italy into England about the thirtieth year of his Age, being then noted by many, both for his Person and Comportment; for indeed he was of a choice shape, tall of stature, and of a

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most perswasive behaviour; which was so mixed with sweet Discourse, and Civilities, as gained him much love from all Persons with whom he entred into an acquaintance.

And whereas he was noted in his Youth to have a sharp Wit, and apt to jest; that, by Time, Travel, and Conversation, was so polish'd, and made so useful, that his company seemed to be one of the delights of mankind; insomuch as Rebert Earl of Essex (then one of the Darlings of Fortune, and in greatest favour with Queen Elizabeth) invited him first into a friendship, and after a knowledge of his great abilities, to be one of his Secretaries; the other being Mr. Henry Cuffe, sometimes of Merton Colledge in Oxford (and there also the acquaintance of Sir Henry Wotton in his Youth) Mr. Cuffe being then a man of no common note in the University for his Learning; nor after his removal from that place, for the great abilities of his mind; nor indeed, for the latabless of his end.

Sir Henry Wotton being now taken into a serviceable friendship with the Earl of Essex, did personally attend his Counsels and Employments in two Voyages at Sea against the Spaniard, and also in that (which was the Earls last) into Ireland; that Voyage wherein he then did so much provoke the Queen to anger, and worse at his return into England; upon whose immoveable favour the Earl had built such sandy hopes, as incouraged him to those undertakings, which with the help of a contrary Faction suddenly caused his Commitment to the Tower.

Sir Henry Wotton observing this, though he was not of that Faction (for the Earls followers were also divided into their several interests) which incouraged the Earl to those undertakings which proved so fatal to him, and divers of his Confederation: yet, knowing Tresson to be so comprehensive, as to take in even Circumstances, and out of them to make such positive Conclusions as subtle States-men shall project, either for their revenge or safety; considering this, he thought prevention by absence out of England, a better security then to stay in it, and there plead his innocency in a Prison. Therefore did he, so soon as the Earl was apprehended, very quickly, and as privately glide through Kent to Dover, without so much as looking toward his native

and beloved Botton; and was by the help of favourable winds and liberal payment of the Mariners, within sixteen hours after his departure from London, set upon the French shore; where he heard shortly after, that the Earl was Arraign'd, Condemned, and Beheaded; and that his Friend Mr. Cuffe was hang'd, and divers other Persons of Eminent Quality executed.

The Times did not look so favourably upon Sir Hemy Wotton, as to invite his return into England; having therefore procured of Sir Edward Wotton, his elder Brother, an assurance that his Annuity should be paid him in Italy, thither he went, happily renewing his intermitted friendship and interest, and indeed, his great content in a new conversation with his old Acquaintance in that Nation; and more particularly in Florence (which City is not more eminent for the Great Dukes Court, then for the great recourse of men of choicest note for Learning and Arts,) in which number he there met with his old Friend Signior Vietta, a Gentleman of Venice, and then taken to be Secretary to the Great Duke of Tuscany.

After some stay in Florence, he went the fourth time to visit Rome, where in the English Colledge he had very many Friends (their humanity made them really so, though they knew him to be a dissenter from many of their Principles of Religion), and having enjoyed their company, and satisfied himself concerning some Curiosities that did partly occasion his Journey thither, he returned back to Florence, where a most notable accident befell him; an accident that did not only find new employment for his choice Abilities, but introduce him a knowledge and an interest with our King James, then King of Scotland; which I shall proceed to relate.

But first, I am to tell the Reader, That though Queen Elizabeth (or she and her Council) were never willing to declare her Successor; yet James then King of the Scots, was confidently believed by most to be the man upon whom the sweet trouble of Kingly Government would be imposed; and the Queen declining very fast, both by age and visible infirmities, those that were of the Romish perswasion in point of Religion (even Rome it self, and those of this Nation) knowing that the death of the Queen, and the establishing of her Successor, were taken to be

critical days for destroying or establishing the Protestant Religion in this Nation, did therefore improve all opportunities for preventing a Protestant Prince to succeed Her. And as the Pope's Excommunication of Queen Elizabeth, had both by the judgment and practice of the Jesuited Papist, exposed her to be warrantably destroyed; so (if we may believe an angry Adversary, a *1 secular Priest against a Jesuit) you may believe, that about that time there were many indeavours, first to excommunicate, and then to shorten the life of King. James.

Immediately after Sir Henry Wotton's return from Rome to Florence (which was about a year before the death of Queen Elizabeth) Ferdinand the Great Duke of Florence had intercepted certain Letters that discovered a design to take away the life of James the then King of Scots. The Duke abhorring the Fact, and resolving to indeavor a prevention of it, advised with his Secretary Vietta, by what means a caution might be best given to that King; and after consideration, it was resolved to be done by Sir Henry Wotton, whom Vietta first commended to the Duker, and the Duke had noted and approved of above all the Enellip that frequented his Court.

Sir Henry was gladly called by his Friend Vietta to the Duke, who after much profession of trust and friendship, acquainted him with the secret; and being well instructed, dispatched him into Scotland with Letters to the King, and with those Letters, such Italian Antidotes against poison, as the Scots till then had been strangers to.

Having patted from the Duke, he took up the Name and Language of an Italian; and thinking it best to avoid the line of English intelligence and danger, he posted into Norway, and through that Country towards Scotland, where he found the King at Sterling; being there, he used means by Bernard Lindsey, one of the Kings Bed-Chamber, to procure him a speedy and private conference with his Majesty, assuring him, That the business which be was to negotiate, was of such consequence, as bad caused the Great Duke of Tuscany to enjoin him suddenly to leave his Native Country of Italy, to import it to his Kins.

This being by Bernard Lindsey made known to the King, the King

¹ Watson in his Quodlibets.

after a little wonder (mixt with jealousie) to hear of an Italian Ambassador, or Messenger, required his Name (which was said to be Octavio Baldi) and appointed him to be heard privately at a fixed hour that Evening.

When Octavio Baldi came to the Presence-Chamber-door, he was requested to lay aside his long Rapier (which Italian-like he then wore) and being entred the Chamber, he found there with the King three or four Scotch Lords standing distant in several corners of the Chamber: at the sight of whom he made a stand; which the King observing, bade him be bold, and deliver his Message; for he would undertake for the secresie of all that were present. Then did Octavio Baldi deliver his Letters and his Message to the King in Italian; which, when the King had graciously received, after a little pause, Octavio Baldi steps to the Table, and whispers to the King in his own Language, that he was an English man, beseeching Him for a more private conference with His Majesty, and that he might be concealed during his stay in that Nation; which was promised, and really performed by the King during all his abode there (which was about three Months) all which time was spent with much pleasantness to the King, and with as much to Octavio Baldi himself, as that Countrey could afford; from which he departed as true an Italian as he came thither.

To the Duke at Florence he return'd with a fair and grateful account of his imployment, and within some few Months after his return, there came certain News to Florence, that Queen Elizabeth was dead; and James King of the Scots proclaimed King of England. The Duke knowing travel and business to be the best Schools of wisdom, and that Sir Henry Wotton had been tutor'd in both, advis'd him to return presently to England, and there joy the King with his new and better Title, and wait there upon Fortune for a better imployment.

When King James came into England, he found, amongst other of the late Queens Officers, Sir Edward, who was after Lord Wotton, Comptroller of the House, of whom he demanded, If he knew one Henry Wotton, that had spent much time in Foreign Travel? The Lord replied, he knew him well, and that he was his Brother; then the King asking where he then was, was answered, at Venice, or Florence; but

by late Letters from thence, he understood, he would suddenly be at Paris. Send for him, said the King, and when he shall come into England, hid him repair privately to me. The Lord Wortton after a little wonder, asked the King, If he knew him? to which the King answered, You must rest unsatisfied of that, till you bring the Gentleman to me.

Not many Moneths after this Discourse, the Lord Wotton brought his Brother to attend the King, who took him in His Arms, and bade bim welcome by the Name of Octavio Baldi, saying, he was the most honest, and therefore the best Dissembler that ever he met with: And said, Seeing I know you neither want Learning, Travel, nor Experience, and that I have had so real a Testimony of your faithfulness and abilities to manage an Ambassage, I have sent for you to declare my purpose, which is, to make use of you in that kind bereafter: And indeed the King, did so most of those two and twenty years of his Raign; but before he dismist Octavio Baldi from his present attendance upon him, he restored him to his old Name of Henry Wotton, by which he then Knighted him.

Not long after this, the King having resolved, according to his Motto (Beati pacifici), to have a friendship with his Neighbour-Kingdoms of France and Spain, and also for divers weighty reasons, to enter into an Alliance with the State of Venice, and to that end to send Ambassadors to those several places, did propose the choice of these Imployments to Sir Henry Wetton; who considering the smallness of his own Estate (which he never took care to augment) and knowing the Cours of great Princes to be sumptuous, and necessarily expensive, inclined most to that of Venice, as being a place of more retirement, and best suiting with his Genius, who did ever love to join with Business, Study, and a tryal of natural Experiments; for both which fruitful Italy, that Darling of Nature, and Cherisber of all Arts, is so justly fan'd in all parts of the Chritten World.

Sir Henry having after some short time and consideration, resolved upon Venice, and a large allowance being appointed by the King for his Voyage thither, and a settled maintenance during his stay there, he left England, nobly accompanied through France to Venice, by Gentlemen of the best Families and breeding that this Nation afforded; they were too many to name, but these two, for following reasons, may not

be omitted; Sir Albertus Morton his Nephew, who went his Secretary; and William Bedel, a man of choice Learning, and sanctified Wisdom, who went his Chaplain. And though his dear friend Dr. Donne (then a private Gentleman) was not one of that number that did personally accompany him in this Voyage, yet the reading of this following Letter sent by him to Sir Henry Wotton, the morning before he left England, may testific he wanted not his friends best wishes to attend him.

SIR,

After those teverend Papers, whose soul is
Our good, and great Kings lov'd band, and fear'd name:
By which to you be derives much of his,
And, how he may, makes you almost the same;

A Taper of his Torch: a Copy writ From his Original, and a fair Beam Of the same warm and dazling Sun, though it Must in another Sphear his vertue stream;

After those Learned Papers which your hand Hath stor'd with notes of use and pleasure too: From which rich treasury you may command Fit matter whether you will write or do:

After those loving Papers which Friends send
With glad grief to your Sea-ward-steps farewell,
And thicken on you now as prayers ascend
To Heaven on troops at a good mans passing, Bell:

Admit this honest Paper; and allow It such an audience as your self would ask; What you would say at Venice, this says now, And has for nature what you have for task.

To swear much love; nor to be chang'd before Honour alone will to your fortune fit; Nor shall I then bonour your fortune more, Then I have done your honour-wanting-wit,

But'tis an easier load (though both oppress)

To want, then govern greatness; for we are
In that, our own, and only business;
In this, we must for others vices care.

*Tis therefore well, your spirits now are plac'd In their last furnace, in activity; Which fits them: Schools, and Courts, and Wars ore-past To touch and taste in any best degree.

For me! (if there be such a thing as I)

Fortune (if there be such a thing as she)

Finds that I bear so well ber tytanny,

That she thinks nothing else so fit for me.

But, though she part us, to hear my oft prayers For your encrease, God is as near me here: And, to send you what I shall beg, his stairs In length, and ease, are alike every where.

J. Donne.

Sir Henry Wotton was received by the State of Venice, with much honour and gladness, both for that he delivered his Ambassage most elegantly in the Italian Language, and came also in such a Juncture of time, as his Masters friendship seem'd useful for that Republick: the time of his coming thither was about the year 1604. Leonardo Donato being then Duke; a wise and resolv'd man, and to all purposes such (Sir Henry Wotton would often say it) as the State of Venice could not then have wanted; there having been formerly in the time of Pope Clement the eighth, some contests about the priviledges of Churchmen, and the power of the Civil Magistrate; of which, for the information of common Readers, I shall say a little, because it may give light to some passages that follow.

About the year 1603. the Republick of Venice made several Injunctions against Lay-persons giving Lands or Goods to the Church, without Licence from the Civil Magistrate; and in that inhibition,

they exprest their reasons to be, For that when any Goods or Land once came into the hands of the Ecclesiasticks, it was not subject to alienation; by reason whereof (the Lay-people being at their death charitable even to excess) the Clergy grew every day more numerous, and pretended an exemption from all publick service, and Taxes, and from all secular Judgment: so that the burden grew thereby too heavy to be born by the Laity.

Another occasion of difference was, That about this time complaints were justly made by the Venetians against two Clergy-men, the Abbot of Nervesa, and a Canon of Vicenza, for committing such sins, as I think not fit to name; nor are these mentioned with an intent to fix a Scandal upon any Calling: (for holiness is not tyed to Ecclesiastical Orders, and Italy is observed to breed the most vertuous, and most vicious men of any Nation) these two having been long complained of at Rome in the Name of the State of Venice, and no satisfaction being given to the Venetians, they seized the persons of this Abbot and Canon, and committed them to prison.

The justice, or injustice of such or the like power, then used by the Venetians, had formerly had some calm debates betwixt the former Pope Clement the Eighth, and that Republick: I say, calm, for he did not Excommunicate them; considering (as I conceive) that in the late Council of Trent it was at last (after many Politique disturbances, and delayes, and endeavours to preserve the Popes present power) in order to a general reformation of those many Errors, which were in time crept into the Church, declar'd by that Counsel, That though Discipline, and especial Excommunication be one of the chief sinews of Church-Government, and intended to keep men in obedience to it: for which end, it was declar'd to be very profitable; yet, it was also declar'd, and advised to be used with great sobriety and care: because experience bad informed them, that when it was pronounced unadvisedly, or rashly, it became more contemn'd then fear'd. And, though this was the advice of that Council at the Conclusion of it, which was not many years before this quarrel with the Venetians; yet this prudent, patient Pope Clement dying, Pope Paul the fifth, who succeeded him (though not immediately, yet in the same year) being a man of a much hotter temper, brought this difference with the Venetians to a much higher Contention: objecting those late acts of

that State, to be a diminution of his just power, and limited a time of twenty four dayes for their revocation; threatning, if he were not obeyed, to proceed to Excommunication of the Republick, who still offered to shew both reason and ancient custom to warrant their Actions. But this Pope, contrary to his Predecessors moderation, required absolute obedience without disputes.

Thus it continued for about a year; the Pope still threatning Excommunication, and the Venetians still answering him with fair speeches, and no compliance, till at last, the Popes zeal to the Appostelick See did make him to excommunicate the Duke, the whole Senate, and all their Dominions; and that done to shut up all their Churches; charging the whole Clergy to forbear all sacred Offices to the Venetians, till their Obedience should render them capable of Abolution.

But this act of the Popes did but the more confirm the Venetians in their resolution not to obey him; And to that end, upon the hearing of the Popes Interdict, they presently published by sound of Trumpet, a Proclamation to this effect:

That whosoever hath received from Rome any Copy of a Papal Interdict, publish d there, as well against the Law of God, as against the Honour of this Nation, shall presently render it to the Councel of Ten, upon pain of Death, And made it loss of Estate and Nobility, but to speak in the behalf of the Jesuits.

Then was Duado their Ambassador call'd home from Rome, and the Inquisition presently suspended by Order of the State; and the Flood-gates being thus set open, any man that had a pleasant or scoffing wit might safely vent it against the Pope, either by free speaking, or by Libels in Print; and, both became very pleasant to the people.

Matters thus heightned, the State advised with Father Paul, a Holy and Learned Frier (the Author of the History of the Council of Trent), whose advice was, Neither to provoke the Pope, nor lose their own Right: he declaring publickly in Print in the name of the State, That the Pope was trusted to keep two Keys; one of Prudence, and the other of Power.

And that if they were not both used together, Power alone is not effectual in an Excommunication.

And thus these discontents and oppositions continued, till a report was blown abroad, that the Venetians were all turned Protestants: which was believed by many, for that it was observ'd, the English Ambassadour was so often in conference with the Senate, and his Chaplain Mr. Bedel more often with Father Paul, whom the People did not take to be his Friend: And also, for that the Republick of Venice was known to give Commission to Gregory Justiniano, then their Ambassador in England, to make all these Proceedings known to the King of England, and to crave a Promise of his assistance, if need should require: and in the mean time they required the King's advice and judgment; which was the same that he gave to Pope Clement, at his first coming to the Crown of England; (that Pope then moving him to an Union with the Roman Church) namely, To endeavour the calling of a free Council, for the settlement of Peace in Christendom: and that be doubted not, but that the French King, and divers other Princes would join to assist in so good a work; and, in the mean time, the sin of this Breach, both with His, and the Venetians Dominions, must of necessity lye at the Pope's door

In this contention (which lasted almost two years) the Pope grew still higher, and the Venetians more and more resoly'd and careless: still acquainting King James with their proceedings, which was done by the help of Sir Henry Wotton, Mr. Bedel, and Padre Paulo, whom the Venetians did then call to be one of their Consulters of State, and with his Pen to defend their just Cause: which was by him so performed, that the Pope saw Plainly, he had weakned his Power by exceeding it, and offered the Venetians Absolution upon very easie terms; which the Venetians still slighting, did at last obtain, by that which was scarce so much as a shew of acknowledging it: For they made an order, that in that day in which they were Absolv'd, there should be no Publick Rejoycing, nor any Bopfires that night, lest the Common People might judge, that they desired an Absolution, or were Absolved for committing a Fault.

These Contests were the occasion of Padre Paulo's knowledge and

interest with King James, for whose sake principally Padre Paulo compiled that eminent History of the remarkable Council of Trent; which History was, as fast as it was written, sent in several sheets in Letters by Sir Henry Wotton, Mr. Bedel, and others, unto King James, and the then Bishop of Canterbury, into England, and there first made publick, both in English and in the universal Language.

For eight years after Sir Henry Wotton's going into Italy, he stood fair and highly valued in the Kings opinion, but at last became much clouded by an accident, which I shall proceed to relate.

At his first going Ambassadour into Italy, as he passed through Germany, he stayed some days at Angusta; where having been in his former Travels well known by many of the best note for Learning and Ingeniousness (those that are esteemed the Virtussi of that Nation) with whom he passing an evening in merriments, was requested by Christopher Flecamer to write some Sentence in his Allo; (a Book of white Paper, which for that purpose many of the German Gentry usually carry about them) and Sir Henry Wotton consenting to the motion, took an occasion from some accidental discourse of the present Company, to write a pleasant definition of an Ambassadour, in these very words:

Legatus est vir bonus peregré missus ad mentiendum Reipublicæ causâ.

Which Sir Henry Wotton could have been content should have been thus Englished:

An Embassadour is an honest man, sent to lie abroad for the good of his Country.

But the word for lye (being the hinge upon which the Conceit was to turn) was not so exprest in Latine, as would admit (in the hands of an Enemy sepcially) so fair a construction as Sir Henry thought in English. Yet as it was, it slept quietly among other Sentences in this Albo, almost eight years, till by accident it fell into the hands of Jasper Scieppins, a Romanist, a man of a restless spirit, and a malicious Pen: who with Books against King James, prints this as a Principle of

that Religion professed by the King, and his Ambassador Sir Henry Wotton, then at Venice: and in Venice it was presently after written in several Glass-windows, and spitefully declared to be Sir Henry Wottons.

This coming to the knowledge of King James, he apprehended it to be such an oversight, such a weakness, or worse, in Sir Henry Wotton, as caused the King to express much wrath against him: and this caused Sir Henry Wotton to write two Apologies, one to Veleeus (one of the Chiefs of Augusta) in the universal Language, which he caused to be Printed, and given, and scattered in the most remarkable places both in Germany and Italy, as an Antidote against the venomous Books of Scioppius; and another Apology to King James: which were both so ingenious, so clear, and so choicely Eloquent, that his Majesty (who was a pure Judge of it) could not forbear, at the reciet thereof, to declare publickly, That Sir Henry Wotton had commuted sufficiently for a greater offence.

And now, as broken bones well set become stronger, so Sir Henry Wotton did not only recover, but was much more confirmed in his Majesties estimation and favour then formerly he had been.

And as that Man of great Wit and useful Fancy (his Friend Dr. Dome) gave in a Will of his (a Will of Conceits) his Reputation to his Friends, and his Industry to his Foes, because from thence he received both: so those Friends, that in this time of trial laboured to excuse this facetious freedom of Sir Henry Wottons, were to him more dear, and by him more highly valued; and those Acquaintance that urged this as an advantage against him, caused him by this error to grow both more wise, and (which is the best fruit error can bring forth) for the future to become more industriously watchful over his Tongue and Pen.

I have told you a part of his Employment in Italy, where notwithstanding the death of his Favorer, the Duke Leonardo Donato, who had an undissembled affection for him, and the malicious Accusation of Scioppius; yet his interest (as though it had been an intail'd love) was still found to live and increase in all the succeeding Dukes, during his Employment to that State, which was almost twenty years; all

which time he studied the dispositions of those Dukes, and the other Consulters of State; well knowing, that he who negotiates a continued business, and neglects the study of dispositions, usually fails in his proposed ends: But in this Sir Henry Wotton did not fail; for by a fine sorting of fit Presents, curious and not costly Entertainments, always sweetned by various and pleasant Discourse; with which, and his choice application of Stories, and his elegant Delivery of all these, even in their Italian Language, he first got, and still preserv'd such interest in the State of Venice, that it was observ'd (such was either his metit, or his modesty) they never denied him any request.

But all this shews but his abilities, and his fitness for that Employment: Twill therefore be needful to tell the Reader, what use he made of the Interest which these procured him; and that indeed was rather to oblige others then to enrich himself; he still endeavouring that the Reputation of the English might be maintained, both in the German Empire, and in Italy; where many Gentlemen whom Travel had invited into that Nation, received from him chearful Entertainments, advice for their behaviour, and by his interest shelter, or deliverance from those accidental storms of adversity which usually attend upon Travel.

And because these things may appear to the Reader to be but Generals, I shall acquaint him with two particular Examples; one of his Merciful Disposition, and one of the Nobleness of his Mind; which shall follow.

There had been many English Souldiers brought by Commanders of their own Country, to serve the Venetisms for pay against the Turk: and those English, having by Irregularities, or Improvidence, brought themselves into several Gallies and Prisons, Sir Henry Wotton became a Petitioner to that State for their Lives and Enlargement; and his Request was granted: so that those (which were many hundreds, and there made the sad Examples of Humane Misery, by hard Imprisonment, and unpitied Poverty in a strange Nation) were by his means released, relieved, and in a comfortable Condition sent to thank God and him for their Lives and Liberty in their own Country.

And this I have observed as one testimony of the compassionate

Nature of him, who was (during his stay in those parts) as a City of Refuge for the Distressed of this and other Nations.

And for that which I offer as a Testimony of the Nobleness of his Mind; I shall make way to the Readers clearer understanding of it, by telling him, that beside several other Foreign Employments, Sir Henry Wotton was sent thrice Ambassadour to the Republick of Venice; and at his last going thither, he was employed Ambassadour to several of the German Princes, and more particularly to the Emperour Ferdinando the second; and that his Employment to him, and those Princes, was to incline them to equitable Conditions, for the Restauration of the Queen of Bobemia, and her Descendents, to their Patrimonial Inheritance of the Palatimate.

This was by his eight Moneths constant endeavours and attendance upon the Emperour, his Court and Councel, brought to a probability of a successful Conclusion without blood-shed: but there was at that time two opposite Armies in the Field; and as they were Treating. there was a Battle fought; in the managery whereof, there was so many miserable Errors on the one side, (so Sir Henry Wotton expresses it in a Dispatch to the King) and so advantagious Events to the Emperour, as put an end to all present Hopes of a successful Treaty: so that Sir Henry seeing the face of Peace altered by that Victory, prepared for a removal from that Court; and at his departure from the Emperor, was so bold as to remember him, That the Events of every Battle move on the unseen Wheels of Fortune, which are this moment up, and down the next: and therefore humbly advised him to use his Victory so soberly, as still to put on thoughts of Peace. Which Advice, though it seemed to be spoke with some Passion, (his dear Mistress the Queen of Bohemia being concerned in it) was yet taken in good part by the Emperor; who replied. That he would consider his Advice: And though he looked on the King his Master as an Abettor of his Enemy the Paulsgrave; yet for Sir Henry himself, his behaviour had been such during the manage of the Treaty, that be took him to be a Person of much Honour and Merit, and did therefore desire him to accept of that Jewel, as a testimony of his good opinion of him; which was a Jewel of Diamonds of more value then a Thousand Pounds.

This Jewel was received with all outward Circumstances and Terms of Honour by Sir Henry Wotton: but the next morning, at his departing from Vienna, he at his taking leave of the Counters of Sabrina (an Italian Lady, in whose House the Emperor had appointed him to be lodg'd, and honourably entertained) be acknowledged her Merits, and besought her to accept of that Jewel, as a testimony of his gratitude for her Civilities: presenting her with the same that was given him by the Emperor: which being suddenly discovered, and told to the Emperor, was by him taken for a high affront, and Sir Henry Wotton told so by a Messenger. To which he replied, That though he received it with thoushfuness, yet be found in himself an indisposition to be the better for any gift that came from an Enemy to his Royal Mistress the Queen of Bohemia; for so she was pleased he should always call her.

Many other of his Services to his Prince, and this Nation, might be insisted upon: as namely, his procurations of Priviledges and Gourtesies with the German Princes, and the Republick of Venice, for the English Merchants; and what he did by direction of King James with the Venetian State, concerning the Bishop of Spalato's return to the Church of Rome. But for the particulars of these, and many more that I meant to make known, I want a view of some Papers that might inform me, (his late Majesties Letter Office having now suffered a strange alienation) and indeed I want time too; for the Printers Press stays for what is written: so that I must haste to bring Sir Henry Wotton in an instant from Venice to London, leaving the Reader to make up what is defective in this place, by the small supplement of the Inscription under his Arms, which he left at all those Houses where he rested, or lodged, when he return'd from his last Embassie into England.

Henricus Wottonius Anglo-Cantianus, Thomæ optimi viri filius natu minimus, à serenissimo Jacobo I. Mag. Britt. Rege, în equestrem titulum adscitus, ejusdemue ter ad Rempublicam Venetam Legatus Ordinarius, semel ad confæderatarum Provinciarum Ordines in Juliacensi negotio. Bis ad Carolum Emanuel, Sabaudie Ducem; semel ad unitos superioris Germaniæ Principes in Conventu Heilbrunensi, postremo ad Archiducem

Leopoldum, Ducem, Wittembergensem, Civitates imperiales, Argentinam, Ulmamque, & ipsum Romanorum Imperatorem Ferdinandum seeundum, Legatus Extraordinarius, tandem boc didicit,

Animas fieri sapientiores quiescendo.

To London he came the year before King James died; who having for the reward of his forreign service, promised him the reversion of an Office which was fit to be turned into present money, which he wanted, for a supply of his present necessities, and also granted him the reversion of the Master of the Rolls place, if he out-lived charitable Sit Julius Caesar, who then possessed it: and then, grown so old, that he was said to be kept alive beyond Natures Course, by the prayers of those many poor which he daily relieved.

But these were but in hope; and his condition required a present support: For in the beginning of these imployments he sold to his elder Brother the Lord Wotton, the Rent-charge left by his good Father, and (which is worse) was now at his return indebted to several persons, whom he was not able to satisfie, but by the Kings payment of his Arrears due for his forreign Imployments: He had brought into England many servants, of which some were German and Italian Artists; this was part of his condition, who had many times hardly sufficient to supply the occasions of the day: (For it may by no means be said of his providence, as himself said of Sir Pbilip Sidney's wit, That it was the very measure of congruity) He being alwayes so careless of money, as though our Saviours words, Care not for to morrow, were to be literally understood.

But it pleased the God of providence, that in this juncture of time, the Provostship of His Majesties Colledge of Eaton became void by the death of Mr. Thomas Murray, for which there were (as the place deserv'd) many earnest and powerful Suitiers to the King. And Sir Henry who had for many years (like Siyphus) rolled the restless stone of a State-imployment; knowing experimentally, that the great blessing of sweet content was not to be found in multitudes of men or unsiness: and, that a Colledge was the fittest place to nourish holy boughts, and to afford rest both to his body and mind, which his age

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(being now almost threescore years) seemed to require, did therefore use his own, and the interest of all his friends to procure that place. By which means, and quitting the King of his promised reversionary Offices, and a piece of honest policy (which I have not time to relate) he got a Grant of it from His Majesty.

And this was a fair satisfaction to his mind: but money was wanting to furnish him with those necessaries which attend removes, and a settlement in such a place; and to procure that, he wrote to his old friend Mr. Nitholas Pey, for his assistance; of which Nitholas Pey I shall here say a little, for the clearing of some passages that I shall mention hereafter.

He was in his youth a Clerk, or in some such way, a Servant to the Lord Wotton, Sir Henry's Brother; and by him, when he was Comptroller of the Kings Houshold, was made a great Officer in His Majesties House. This, and other favours being conferred upon Mr. Pey (in whom there was a radical honestry) were always thankfully acknowledged by him, and his gratitude exprest by a willing and unwearied serviceableness to that Family even till his death. To him Sir Henry Wotton wrote, to use all his interest at Court, to procure Five hundred pounds of his Arrears (for less would not settle him in the Colledge) and the want of such a sum wrinkled hig face with care; (Twas his sown expression) and that money being procured, he should the next day after find him in his Colledge, and Invidiae remedium writ over his Studyy door.

This money, being part of his Arrears, was by his own, and the help of honest Nikoblas Pey's interest in Court, quickly procured him; and he as quickly in the Colledge; the place where indeed his happiness then seemed to have its beginnings the Colledge being to his mind, as a quiet Harbor to a Sea-fairing man after a tempestuous voyage; where, by the bounty of the pious Founder, his very Food and Raiment were plentifully provided for him in kind, and more money then enough, where he was freed from all corroding cares, and seated on such a Rock, as the waves of want could not probably shake; where he might sit in a Calm, and looking down, behold the busie multitude turmoy!'d and tossed in a tempestuous Sea of trouble and dancers!

And (as Sir William Davenant has happily exprest the like of another person)

Laugh at the graver business of the State, Which speaks men rather wise then fortunate,

Being thus setled according to the desires of his beart, his first study was the Statutes of the Colledge; by which, he conceiv'd himself bound to enter into Holy Orders, which he did; being made Deacon with all convenient speed; shortly after which time, as he came in his Surplice from the Church-service, an old Friend, a person of Quality, met him so attired, and joyed him of his new habit; to whom Sir Henry Wotton replied, I thank God and the King, by whose goodness I now am in this condition; a condition, which that Emperor Charles the Fifth seem'd to approve: who, after so many remarkable Victories, when his glory was great in the eyes of all men, freely gave up his Crown, and the many cares that attended it, to Philip bis Son, making a boly retreat to a Cloysteral life, where he might by devout meditations consult with God (which the rich or busie men seldom do) and have leisure both to examine the errors of his life past, and prepare for that great day, wherein all flesh must make an account of their actions: And after a kind of tempestuous life, I now have the like advantage from him, that makes the out-goings of the morning to praise him; even from my God, whom I daily magnifie for this particular mercy, of an exemption from business, a quiet mind, and a liberal maintenance, even in this part of my life, when my age and infirmities seem to sound me a retreat from the pleasures of this world, and invite me to contemplation, in which I have ever taken the greatest felicity.

And now to speak a little of the imployment of his time in the Colledge. After his customary publick Devotions, his use was to retire into his Study, and there to spend some hours in reading the Bible, and Authors in Divinity, closing up his meditations with private prayer; this was, for the most part, his imployment in the Forenoon: But, when he was once sate to Dinner, then nothing but chearful thoughts possess'd his mind; and those still increased by constant company at sis Table, of such persons as brought thither additions both of Learning and Pleasure; but some part of most days was usually spent in

Philosophical Conclusions. Nor did he forget his innate pleasure of Angling, which he would usually call, his idle time, not idly spent; saying often, he would rather live five May months, then forty Decembers.

He was a great lover of his Neighbours, and a bountiful entertainer of them very often at his Table, where his meat was choice, and his discourse better.

He was a constant Cherisher of all those youths in that School, in whom he found either a constant diligence, or a Genius that prompted them to Learning; for whose encouragement, he was (beside many other things of necessity and beauty) at the charge of setting up in it two rows of Pillars, on which he caused to be choicely drawn, the pictures of divers of the most famous Greek and Latin Historians, Poets, and Orstors; perswading them not to neglect Rhetorick, because Alv mighty God has left Mankind affections to be wrought upon: And he would often say, That none despited Eloquence, but such dull souls as were not capeable of it. He would also often make choice of some Observations out of those Historians and Poets: and would never leave the School, without dropping some choice Greek or Latin Apothegm or sentence, that might be worthy of a room in the memory of a growing Scholar.

He was pleased constantly to breed up one or more hopeful Youths, which he picked out of the School, and took into his own Domestick care, and to attend him at his Meals; out of whose Discourse and Berbaviour, he gathered observations for the better compleating of his intended work of Education: of which, by his still striving to make the whole better, he lived to leave but part to Posterity.

He was a great enemy to wrangling Disputes of Religion, concerning which, I shall say a little, both to testifie that, and to shew the readiness of his Wit.

Having at his being in Rome made acquaintance with a pleasant Priest, who invited him one Evening to hear their Vesper Musick at Church, the Priest seeing Sir Henry stand obscurely in a corner, sends to him by a Boy of the Quire this Question, writ in a small piece of Paper, Where was your Religion to be found before Luther? To which Question Sir Henry presently under-writ, My Religion was to be found then, where yours is not to be found now, in the written Word of God.

The next Vesper, Sir Henry went purposely to the same Church, and sent one of the Quire-boys with this Question, to his honest, pleasant friend, the Priest; Do you believe all those many thousands of poor Christians were damn'd, that were Excommunicated, because the Pope, and the Duke of Venice, could not agree about their temporal power? even those poor Christians that knew not why they quartel'd. Speak your Conscience. To which he under-writ in French, Monsieur, excusay moy.

To one that asked him, Whether a Papist may be saved? he replied, You may be saved without knowing that. Look to your self.

To another, whose earnestness exceeded his knowledge, and was still railing against the Papists, he gave this advice, Pray Sir forbear, till you have studied the Points better; for the wise Italians have this Proverb; He that understands amiss, concludes worse: And take heed of thinking, The further you go from the Church of Rome, the nearer you are to God.

And to another that spake indiscreet, and bitter words against Arminius, I heard him reply to this purpose:

In my travel towards Venice, as I past through Germany, I rested almost a year at Leyden, where I entred into an acquaintance with Arminius (then the Professor of Divinity in that University) a man much talk'd of in this Age, which is made up of opposition and Controversie: And indeed, if I mistake not Arminius in his expressions (as so weak a brain as mine is may easily do) then I know I differ from him in some points; yet I profess my judgment of him to be, that he was a man of most rare Learning, and I knew him to be of a most strict life, and of a most meek spirit. And that he was so mild. appears by his Proposals to our Master Perkins of Cambridge, from whose Book, of the Order and Causes of Salvation (which was first writ in Latin) Arminius took the occasion of writing some Queries to him concerning the consequents of his Doctrine; intending them ('tis said) to come privately to Mr. Perkins own hands, and to receive from him, a like private and a like loving Answer: But Mr. Perkins died before those Queries came to him; and 'tis thought Arminius meant them to dye with him; for though he lived long after, I have heard he forbore to publish them, (but since his death, his Sons did not.) And 'tis pity, if God had been so pleased, that Mr. Perkins lid not live to see, consider, and answer those proposals himself; for he was also

of a most meck spirit, and of great and sanctified Learning: And though since their deaths, many of high parts and piety have undertaken to clear the Controversic, yet, for the most part, they have rather satisfied themselves, then convinced the dissenting party. And doubtless, many middle-witted men (which yet may mean well) many Scholars that are not in the highest Form for Learning (which yet may preach well) men that are but Preachers, and shall never know, till they come to Heaven, where the Questions stick betwirt Arminius and the Church of England, (if there be any) will yet in this world be tampering with, and thereby perplexing the Conttoversic, and do therefore justly fall under the reproof of St. Jude, for being Busie-bodies, & for medling with things they understand not.

And here it offers it self (I think not unfitly) to tell the Reader, that a friend of Sir Henry Wottens, being designed for the imployment of an Ambassador, came to Eaton, and requested from him some experimental Rules for his prudent and safe carriage in his Negotiations; to whom he smilingly gave this for an infallible Aphorism; That, to be in safety bimself, and serviceable to his Country, he should always, & upon all accasions speak the truth (it seems a State-Paradox) for, says Sir Henry Wotton, you shall never be believed; and by this means, your truth will secure your self, if you shall ever be called to any account; and 'twill also put your Adversaries (upon will still bunt counter) to a loss in all their disquisitions and undertakings.

Many more of this nature might be observed, but they must be laid aside; for I shall here make a little stop, and invite the Reader to look back with me, whilst according to my promise, I shall say a little of Six Albertus Morton, and Mr. William Bedel, whom I formerly mentioned.

I have told you that are my Reader; that at Sir Henry Wotton's first going Ambassador into Italy, his Cousin, Sir Albert Morton, went his Secretary: and am next to tell you, that Sir Albertus died Secretary of State to our late King; but cannot, am not able to express the sorrow that possest Sir Henry Wotton at his first hearing the news that Sir Albertus was by death lost to him and this world; and yet, the Reader may partly guess by these following expressions: The first in a Letter to his Nikbolas Pey, of which this that followeth is a part.

—And my dear Nick, When I had been here almost a fortnight, in the midst of my great contentment, I received notice of Sir Albertus Morton his departure out of this World, who was dearer to me, then mine own being in it; what a wound it is to my heart, you that knew him, and know me, will easily believe: but our Creators Will must be done, and unrepiningly received by his own Creatures, who is the Lord of all Nature, and of all Fortune, when he taketh to himself now one, and then another, till that expected day, wherein it shall please him to dissolve the whole, and wrap up even the Heaven it self as a Scrole of Parehment. This is the last Philosophy that we must study upon Earth; let us therefore that yet remain here, so war days and friends waste, reinforce our love to each other; which of all vertues, both spiritual and moral, bath the highest priviledge, because death it self cannot end it. And my good Nick, &c.

This is a part of his sorrow thus exprest to his Nick Pey; the other part is in this following Elogy, of which the Reader may safely conclude, 'twas too hearty to be dissembled.

TEARS WEPT at the grave of Sir Albertus Morton, by Henry Wotton.

Silence in truth would speak my sorrow best, For deepest wounds can least their feelings tell; Yet let me borrow from mine own unrest, A time to bid him whom I lov'd, farewell.

Ob, my unhappy lines! you that before Have serv'd my youth to vent some wanton cries, And now congeal'd with grief, can scarce implore Strength to accent, Here my Albertus lies.

This is that Sable Stone, this is the Cave And womh of Earth, that doth his Corps embrace; While others sing his praise, let me ingrave These bleeding numbers to adorn the place.

Here will I paint the Characters of Woe; Here will I pay my Tribute to the Dead; And here my faithful Tears in shownes shall flow To humanize the Flints on which I tread.

Where though I mourn my matchless loss alone, And none between my weakness judge and me; Yet even these pensive Walls allow my moan, Whose doleful Ecchoes to my plaints agree.

But is be gone? and live I rhyming bere,
As if some Muse would listen to my lay?
When all dis-tun'd sit waiting for their dear,
And bathe the Banks where he was wont to play.

Dwell then in endless Bliss with bappy Souls,
Discharg'd from Natures and from Fortunes Trust;
Whil'st on this fluid Globe my Hour-glass rowls,
And runs the rest of my remaining dust.

H.W.

This concerning his Sir Albertus Morton.

And for what I shall say concerning Mr. William Bedel, I must prepare the Reader by telling him, That when King James sent Sir Henry Wotton Ambassador to the State of Venice, he sent also an Ambassador to the King of France, and another to the King of Spain: with the Ambassador of France went Joseph Hall (late Bishop of Norwich) whose many and useful Works speak his great Merit: with the Ambassador of Spain went Ja. Wadsworth; and with Sir Henry Wotton went William Bedel.

These three Chaplains to these three Ambassadours, were all bred in one University, all of one 'Colledge, all Benefic'd in one Diocess, and all most dear and intire Friends: But in Spain Mr. Wedsworth met with temptations, or reasons, such as were so powerful, as to perswade him (who of the three, was formerly observ'd to be the most averse

¹ Emanuel Colledge in Cambridge.

to that Religion that calls it self Catholick) to disclaim himself a Member of the Church of England, and declare himself for the Church of Rome; discharging himself of his attendance on the Ambassador, and betaking himself to a Monasterial life; in which he lived very regularly, and so died.

When Dr. Hall (the late Bishop of Norwieb) came into England, he wrote to Mr. Wadsworth ('tis the first Epistle in his Printed Decads) to perswade his return, or to shew the reason of his Apostasie: the Letter seemed to have in it many sweet expressions of love; and yet there was in it some expression that was so unpleasant to Mr. Wadsworth, that he chose rather to acquaint his old Friend Mr. Bedel with his motives; by which means there past betwixt Mr. Bedel and Mr. Wadsworth divers Letters, which be extant in Print, and did well deserve it; for in them there seems to be a controversie, not of Religion only, but who should answer each other with most love and meekness: which I mention the rather, because it too seldom falls out to be so in a Book-War.

There is yet a little more to be said of Mr. Bedel, for the greatest part of which, the Reader is referred to this following Letter of Sir Henry Wottons, writ to our late King Charles the First.

May it please Your most Gracious Majesty,

Having been informed that certain persons have, by the good wishes of the Archbishop of Armagh, been directed bither, with a most humble Petition unto Your Majesty, that You will be pleased to make Mr. William Bedel (now resident upon a small Benefice in Sufficile) Governor of Your Colledge at Dublin for the good of that Society; and my self being required to render unto Your Majesty some testimony of the said William Bedel, who was long my Chaplain at Venice, in the time of my first employment there; I am bound in all Conscience & Truth (so far as Your Majesty will vouchsafe to accept my poor judgment) to affirm of him, That I think bardly a fitter man for that Change, could have been propounded unto Your Majesty in Your whole Kingdom, for singular Erudition and Piety. Conformity to the Rites of the Church, and Zeal to advance the Cause of God, wherein his Travels abroad were not obscure, in the time of the Excommunication of the Venetians.

For it may please Your Majesty to know, that this is the man whom Padre Paulo took, I may say, into his very soul, with whom he did communicate the inwardest thoughts of his heart, from whom he professed to have received more knowledge in all Divinity, both Scholastical and Positive, then from any that he had ever practised in his days; of which, all the passages were well known to the King Your Father, of most blessed memory. And so with Your Majesties good favour, I will end this needless Office; for the general Fame of his Learning, his Life, and Christian temper, and those Religious Labours which himself bath dedicated to Your Majesty, do better describe him then I am able.

Your MAJESTIES

Most humble and faithful Servant,

H. WOTTON.

To this Letter, I shall add this; That he was (to the great joy of Sir Henry Wotton) made Governor of the said Colledge; and that1 after a fair discharge of his duty and trust there, he was thence removed to be Bishop of Kilmore. 2In both which places, his life was so holy, as seemed to equal the primitive Christians; for as they, so he kept all the Ember-weeks, observed (besides his private devotions) the Canonical hours of Prayer very strictly, and so he did all the Feasts, and Fast-days of his Mother, the Church of England; to which I may add, that his Patience and Charity were both such, as shewed his affections were set upon things that are above; for indeed his whole life brought forth the fruits of the Spirit; there being in him such a remarkable meekness. that as S. Paul advised his Timothy in the Election of a Bishop,3 That be have a good report of those that be without; so had he; for those that were without, even those that in point of Religion, were of the Roman perswasion (of which there were very many in his Diocess) did yet (such is the power of visible Picty) ever look upon him with respect and reverence; and testified it, by a concealing, and safe protecting him from death in the late horrid Rebellion in Ireland, when the fury of the wild Irish knew no distinction of persons; and yet, there, and then, he was protected and cherished by those of a contrary perswasion; and

¹ August, 1627. ² Sept. 3, 1629. ³ 1 Tim. 3. 7.

there and then he died, not by violence or misusage, but by grief in a quiet prison (1629). And with him was lost many of his learned Writings, which were thought worthy of preservation; and amongst the rest, was lost the Bible, which by many years labour, and conference, and study, he had translated into the Irish Tongue, with an intent to have printed it for publick use.

More might be said of Mr. Bedel, who (I told the Reader) was Sir Henry Wottons first Chaplain; and much of his second Chaplain, Isaac Bargrave, Doctor in Divinity, and the late learned and hospitable Dean of Canterbury; as also of the Merit of many others, that had the happiness to attend Sir Henry in his foreign imployments: But the Reader may think that in this digression, I have already carried him too far from Eaton-Colledge, and therefore I shall lead him back as gently, and as orderly as I may to that place, for a further conference concerning Sir Henry Wotton.

Sir Henry Wotton had propos'd to himself, before he entred into his Collegiate life, to write the life of Martin Luther; and in it, the History of the Reformation, as it was carried on in Germany: For the doing of which, he had many advantages by his several Embassies into those parts, and his interest in the several Princes of the Empire; by whose means he had access to the Records of all the Hans Towns, and the knowledge of many secret passages that fell not under common view; and in these he had made a happy progress, as was well known to his worthy friend Doctor Duppa, the late Reverend Bishop of Salisbury; but in the midst of this design, His late Majesty King Charles the First, that knew the value of Sir Henry Wottons Pen, did by a perswasive loving violence (to which may be added a promise of 500 l. a year) force him to lay Luther aside, and betake himself to write the History of England; in which he proceeded to write some short Characters of a few Kings, as a foundation upon which he meant to build; but, for the present, meant to be more large in the story of Henry the sixth, the Founder of that Colledge, in which he then enjoy'd all the worldly happiness of his present being; but Sir Henry dyed in the midst of this undertaking, and the footsteps of his labours are not recoverable by a more than common diligence.

This is some account both of his inclination, and the employment of his time in the Colledge, where he seemed to have his Youth renewed by a continual conversation with that Learned Society, and a daily recourse of other Friends of choicest breeding and parts; by which, that great blessing of a chearful heart was still maintained; he being always free, even to the last of his days, from that peevishness which usually attends Age.

And yet his mirth was sometimes damp'd by the remembrance of divers old Debts, partly contracted in his foreign Imployments, for which his just Arrears due from the King, would have made satisfaction; but, being still delayed with Court-promises, and finding some decays of health, he did about two years before his death, out of a Christian desire, that none should be a loser by him, make his last Will; concerning which, a doubt still remains, namely, whether it discovered more boly wit, or conscionable policy? But there is no doubt, but that his chief design was a Christian endeavour that his Debts might be satisfied.

And that it may remain as such a Testimony, and a Legacy to those that lov'd him, I shall here impart it to the Reader, as it was found writ with his own hand.

In the name of God Almighty and Allmeriful, I Henry Wotton, Provost of his Majesties Colledge by Eaton, being mindful of mine own mortality, which the sin of our first Parents did bring upon all flesh, Do by this last Will and Testament, thus dispase of my self, and the poor things I shall leave in this World. My Soul, I bequeath to the Immortal God my Maker, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, my blessed Redeemer, and Mediator, through his allevole sufficient satisfaction for the sins of the whole World, and efficient for his Elect; in the number of whom, I am one by his meer grace, and thereof most unremoveably assured by his holy Spirit, the true Eternal Comforter. My body I bequeath to the Earth, if I shall end my transitory days at, or near Eaton, to be buried in the Chappel of the said Colledge, as the Fellows shall dispose thereof, with whom I have liv'd (my God knows) in all lowing affection; or if I shall dye near Bocton Malherth, in the County of Kent, then I wish to be laid in that Parish-Church, as near as may be to the

Sepulchre of my good Father, expecting a joyful Resurrection with him in the day of Christ.

After this account of his Faith, and this Surrender of his Soul to that God that inspir'd it, and this direction for the disposal of his body, he proceeded to appoint that his Executors should lay over his grave a Marble stone, plain, and not costly: And considering that time moulders even Marble to dust; (for ¹Monuments themselves must dye.) Therefore did he (waving the common way) think fit rather to preserve his name (to which the Son of Since adviseth all men) by a useful Apothegm, then by a large enumeration of his descent or merits (of both which he might justly have boasted) but he was content to forget them, and did chuse only this prudent, pious, Sentence, to discover his Disposition, and preserve his Memory.

'Twas directed by him, to be thus inscribed:

Hic jacet bujus Sententiæ primus Author.

DISPUTANDI PRURITUS, EC. CLESIARUM SCABIES.

Nomen aliàs quære.

Which may be Englished thus, Here lies the first Author of this Sentence,

THE ITCH OF DISPUTATION WILL PROVE THE SCAB OF THE CHURCH.

Inquire bis name elsewhere.

And if any shall object, as I think some have, That Sir Henry Wotton was not the first Author of this Sentence; but, that this, or a Sentence like it, was long before his time; To him I answer, that Solomon says, Nothing can be spoken, that bath not been spoken; for there is no new thing

under the Sun. But grant, that in his various reading, he had met with this, or a like Sentence; yet Reason mixt with Charity should perswade all Readers to believe, That Sir Henry Wotton's mind was then so fix'd on that part of the Communion of Saints which is above, that an holy Lethargy did surprize his Memory. For doubtless, if he had not believed himself to be the first Author of what he said, he was too prudent first to own, and then expose it to the publick view, and censure of every Critick. And questionless, 'twill be charity in all Readers, to think his mind was then so fix'd on Heaven, that a holy zeal did transport him; and that in this Sacred Extasie, his thoughts were then only of the Church Triumphant, (into which he daily expected his admission.) And that Almighty God was then pleased to make him a Prophet, to tell the Church Militant, and particularly that part of it in this Nation where the weeds of controversie grow to be daily both more numerous, and more destructive to humble Piety: and where men have Consciences that boggle at Ceremonies, and yet scruple not to speak and act such sins as the ancient humble Christians believed to be a sin to think: and where, as our Reverend Hooker says, former Simplicity, and softness of Spirit, is not now to be found, because Zeal bath drowned Charity, and Skill Meekness: It will be good to think that these sad changes have proved this Epitaph to be a useful Caution unto us of this Nation; and the sad effects thereof in Germany have prov'd it to be a mournful Truth.

This by way of Observation concerning his Epitaph: The rest of his Will follows in his own words.

Further, I the said Henry Wotton, do constitute and ordain to be joint Executors of this my last Will and Testament, my two Grand-Nephews, Albert Motton, second Son to Sir Robert Motton Knight, late deceased, and Thomas Bargtave, eldest son to Dr. Bargtave, Dean of Canterbury, Husband to my Right Vertwows and only Neece. And I do pray the foresaid Dr. Bargtave, and Mr. Nicholas Pey, my most faithful and chosen friends, together with Mr. John Hartison one of the Fellows of Eaton Colledge, best acquainted with my Books and Pictures, and other Utensils, to be Supervivors of this my last Will and Testament. And I do pray the foresaid Dr. Bargtave, and Mr. Nicholas Pey, to be Solicitors for such Arrearages as

shall appear due unto me from his Majesties Exchequer at the time of my death; and to assist my fore-named Executors in some reasonable and conscientious satisfaction of my Creditors, and discharge of my Legacies now specified; or that shall be hereafter added unto this my Testament, by any Codicil or Schedule, or left in the hands, or in any Memorial with the aforesaid Mr. John Harrison. And first, To my most dear Soveraign and Master of incomparable Goodness (in whose gracious opinion I have ever had some portion, as far as the interest of a plain bonest man) I leave four Pictures at large of those Dukes of Venice, in whose time I was there imployed, with their Names written on the back-side, which hang in my great ordinary Dining-room, done after the Life by Edoardo Fialetto. Likewise a Table of the Venetian Colledge, where Ambassadors had their Audience, hanging over the Mantle of the Chimney in the said Room, done by the same hand, which containeth a draught in little, well resembling the famous D. Leonardo Donato, in a time which needed a wise and constant man. It' The Picture of a Duke of Venice hanging over against the door, done either by Titiano, or some other principal hand long before my time. Most humbly beseeching his Majesty that the said Pieces may remain in some corner of any of his Houses, for a poor Memorial of his most bumble vassal.

It' I leave his said Majesty all the Papers and Negotiations of Sir Nich. Throgmorton Knight, during his famous imployment under Queen Elizabeth, in Scotland and in France, which contain divers secrets of State, that perchance his Majesty will think fit to be preserved in his Paper-Office, after they have been perused and sorted by Mr. Secretary Windebank, with whom I have heretofore, as I remember, conferred about them. They were committed to my disposal by Sir Arthur Throgmorton bis Son, to whose worthy memory I cannot better discharge my faith, then by assigning them to the highest place of trust. It' I leave to our most Gracious and Vertuous Queen Mary, Dioscorides, with the Plants naturally coloured, and the Text translated by Matthiolo, in the best Language of Tuscany, whence her said Majesty is lineally descended, for a poor token of my thankful devotion, for the bonour she was once pleased to do my private study with her presence. I leave to the most hopeful Prince, the Picture of the elected and crowned Queen of Bohemia, his Aunt, of clear and resplendent vertues through the clouds of her Fortune. To my Lords Grace of Canterbury now being, I leave my Picture of Divine

Love, rarely copied from one in the Kings Galleries, of my presentation to his Majesty: beseeching him to receive it as a pledge of my humble reverence to his great Wisdom, And to the most worthy L. Bishop of London, I. High Treasurer of England, in true admiration of his Christian simplicity, and contempt of earthly pomp, I leave a Picture of Heraclitus bewailing, and Democritus laughing at the world: Most humbly beseeching the said Lord Archbishop his Grace, and the Lord Bishop of London, of both whose favours I have tasted in my life time, to intercede with our most gracious Soveraign after my death, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, That out of compassionate memory of my long Services (wherein I more studied the publick Honour, then mine own Utility) some Order may be taken out of my Arrears due in the Exchequer, for such satisfaction of my Creditors, as those whom I have Ordained Supervisors of this my last Will & Testament shall present unto their Lordships, without their farther trouble: Hoping likewise in his Majesties most indubitable Goodness, that he will keep me from all prejudice, which I may otherwise suffer by any defect of formality in the Demand of my said Arrears. To --- for a poor addition to his Cabinet, I leave as Emblems of his attract ive Vertues, and Obliging Nobleness, my great Loadstone; and a piece of Amber of both kinds naturally united, and only differing in degree of Concoction, which is thought somewhat rare. Item, A piece of Christal Sexangular (as they grow all) grasping divers several things within it, which I bought among the Rhætian Alps, in the very place where it grew: recommending most bumbly unto his Lordship, the reputation of my poor Name in the point of my debts, as I have done to the forenamed Spiritual Lords; and am heartily sorry, that I have no better token of my humble thankfulness to his honored Person. It' I leave to Sir Francis Windebank, one of his Majesties principal Secretaries of State (whom I found my great friend in point of Necessity) the four Seasons of old Bassano, to hang near the Eye in his Parlour (being in little form) which I bought at Venice, where I first entred into his · most worthy Acquaintance.

To the abovenamed Dr. Bargrave Dean of Canterbury, I leave all my Italian Books not disposed in this Will. I leave to him likewise my Viol de Gamba, which bath been twice with me in Italy, in which Country I first contracted with him an unremovable Affection. To my other Supervisor Mr. Nicholas Pey, I leave my Chest, or Cabinet of Instruments and Enginee

of all kinds of uses: in the lower box whereof, are some fit to be bequeathed to none but so entire an honest man as he is. I leave him likewise forty pound for his pains in the solicitation of my Arrears, and am sorry that my tagged Estate can reach no further to one that had to taken such care for me in the same kind, during all my foreign Imployments. To the Library at Eaton Colledge I leave all my Manuscripts not before disposed, and to each of the Fellows a plain Ring of Gold, enamel'd black; all save the verge, with this Motto within, Amor unit omnia.

This is my last Will and Testament, save what shall be added by a Schedule thereunto annexed. Written on the first of October, in the present year of our Redemption 1637. And subscribed by my self, with the Testimony of these Witnesses.

HENRY WOTTON.

Nich. Oudert. Geo. Lash.

And now, because the mind of man is best satisfied by the knowledge of Events, I think fit to declare, that every one that was named in his Will, did gladly receive their Legacies; by which, and his most just and passionate desires for the payment of his debts, they joined in assisting the Overseers of his Will; and by their joint endeavours to the King (then whom none was more willing) conscionable satisfaction was eiven for his just debts.

The next thing wherewith I shall acquaint the Reader is, That he went usually once a year, if not oftner, to the beloved Bocton-ball, where he would say, he found a cure for all cares, by the chearful company, which he called the living furniture of that place: and, a restoration of bis ttrength, by the Comaturalness of that, which he called his eenial air.

He yearly went also to Oxford. But the Summer before his death he changed that for a journey to Winchester-Colledge; to which School to was first removed from Boxton. And as he returned from Winbester, towards Exton-Colledge, said to a friend, his Companion in

¹ In it were Italian locks, picklocks, screws to force open doors, and nany things of worth and rarity, that he had gathered in his foreign [ravel.

that Journey; How useful was that advice of a Holy Monk, who persuaded bis friend to perform his Customary devotions in a constant place, because in that place, we usually meet with those very thoughts which possessed us at our last being there; And I find it thus for experimentally true; that, at my now being in that School, and seeing that very place where I sate when I was a Boy, occasioned me to remember those very thoughts of my youth which then possessed me; sweet thoughts indeed, that promited my growing years numerous pleasures, without mixtures of cares; and those to be enjoyed, when time (which I therefore thought slaw pac²d) had changed my youth into manhood: But, age and experience have taught me, that those were but empty hopes: For I have always found it true, as my Saviour did fortell, Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof. Nevertheless, I saw there a succession of Boys using the same recreations, and questionless possessed with the same thoughts that then possessed me. Thus, one generation succeeds another, both in their lives, recreations, hopes, fears, and death.

After his return from Winchester to Eaton (which was about five Moneths before his death) he became much more retir'd, and contemplative; in which time he was often visited by Mr. John Hales, (learned Mr. John Hales) then a Fellow of that Colledge, to whom upon an occasion he spake to this purpose- I have in my passage to my grave met with most of those Toys of which a discoursive soul is capable: and, being entertain'd with more inferior pleasures then the sons of men are usually made partakers of: nevertheless, in this voyage I have not always floated on the calm Sea of Content; but have oft met with cross winds and storms, and with many troubles of mind and temptations to evil. And yet, though I have been and am a man compass'd about with humane frailties, Almighty God bath by his grace prevented me from making shipwrack of faith and a good Conscience; the thought of which is now the joy of my heart, and I most humbly praise him for it: And I humbly acknowledge that it was not my self but he that bath kept me to this great age, and let him take the glory of his great mercy .- And, my dear Friend, I now see that I draw near my harbour of death: that harbor, that will secure me from all the future storms and waves of this restless world; and I praise God I am willing to leave it, and expect a better; that world, wherein dwelleth Righteousness, and I long for it .- These, and the like expressions were then utter'd by

him at the beginning of a Feavourish distemper, at which time he was also troubled with an Asthma, or short spitting; but after less than twenty fits, by the help of familiar Physick and a spare Diet, this Feaver abated; yet so, as to leave him much weaker then it found him: and his Asthma seem'd also to be overcome in a good degree by his forbearing Tobacco, which, as many thoughtful men do, he also had taken somewhat immoderately. This was his then present condition, and, thus he continued till about the end of October 1639, which was about a moneth before his death, at which time, he again fell into a Feaver, which, though he seem'd to recover, yet these still left him so weak, that they and those other common infirmities that accompany age, and were wont to visit him like civil friends, and after some short time to leave him; came now, both oftner and with more violence. and at last took up their constant habitation with him, still weakning his Body and abating his chearfulness: of both which he grew more sensible, and did the oftner retire into his Study, and there made many Papers that had pass'd his Pen both in the days of his youth, and in the busic part of his life, useless, by a fire made there to that purpose. These and several unusual expressions to his Servants and Friends, seem'd to foretell that the day of his death drew near; for which, he seem'd to those many friends that observ'd him, to be well prepar'd, & to be both patient, and free from all fear; as several of his Letters writ on this his last sick-bed may testifie; and thus he continued till about the beginning of December following, at which time he was seiz'd more violently with a Quotidian Feaver, in the tenth fit of which Feaver, his better part, that part of Sir Henry Wotton which could not dye, put off mortality with as much content and chearfulness as humane frailty is capable of; being then in great tranquillity of mind, and in perfect peace with God and man.

And thus the Circle of Sir Henry Wotton's Life—(that Circle which began at Bocton, and in the Circumference thereof, did first touch at Winchester-School, then at Oxford, and after upon so many remarkable parts and passages in Christendom) That Circle of his Life, was by Death thus closed up and compleated, in the seventy and second year of his Age, at Eaton Colledge, where, according to his Will, he now

lies buried, with his Motto on a plain Grave-stone over him; dying worthy of his Name and Family, worthy of the love and favour of so many Princes, and Persons of eminent Wisdom and Learning, worthy of the trust committed unto him, for the Service of his Prince and Countrey.

And all Readers are requested to believe, that he was worthy of a more worthy Pen, to have preserved his Memory, and commended his Merits to the imitation of Posterity.

Iz. Wa.

AN ELEGY on Sir Henry Wotton, writ by Mr. Abram Cowley.

What shall we say, since silent now is he, Who when he spoke all things would silent be. Who had so many Languages in store, That only fame shall speak of him in more. Whom England now no more return'd must see: He's some to Heaven, on bis fourth Embassie. On Earth he travel'd often, not to say H'ad been abroad to pass loose time away: For, in what ever Land be chanc'd to come, He read the men and manners: bringing bome Their Wisdom, Learning, and their Piety. As if he went to Conquer, not to see, So well be understood the most and best Of Tongues, that Babel sent into the West: Spoke them so truly, that he had (you'd swear) Not only liv'd, but, been born every where. Justly each Nations speech to him was known: Who for the World was made, not us alone, Nor ought the Language of that man be less Who in his brest had all things to express: We say that Learning's endless, and blame Fate For not allowing Life a longer date: He did the utmost bounds of Knowledge find; And found them not so large as was his mind: But, like the brave Pellean youth did mone: Because that Art had no more Worlds then one. And, when he saw that he through all had past, He dy'd, lest be should Idle grow at last.

A. Cowley.

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THE LIFE OF MR.

RICHARD HOOKER

THE AUTHOR OF THOSE LEARNED BOOKS

OF THE LAWS OF ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE, AND RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD, GEORGE LORD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER, DEAN OF HIS MAJESTY'S CHAPEL ROYAL, AND PRELATE OF THE MOST NOBLE ORDER OF

THE GARTER

MY LORD,

I Here present you with a Relation of the Life of that Humble man, to whom (at the mention of his Name) Princes, and the most Learned of this Nation, have paid a Reverence.

It was written by me under your Roof; for which, and more weighty Reasons, you might (if it were worthy) justly claim a Title to it: But indeed, my Lord, though this be a well-meant Sacrifice to the Memory of that Venerable man, yet, I have so little Confidence in my Performance, that I beg your Pardon for Subscribing your Name to it; and desire all that know your Lordrhip to receive it, not as a Deckication, by which you receive any Access of Honour, but rather as a more humble and a more publich Acknowledgment of your long continued, and your now daily, Favours to

Your most Affectionate, and most Humble Servant,

Nov. 28.

IZAAK WALTON

TO THE READER &

I Think it necessary to inform my Reader that Dr. Gauden (the late Bishop of Worcester) hath also lately wrote and publish the Life of Mr. Hooker, and though this be not writ by design to oppose the Life of Mr. Hooker written by him, yet I am put upon a necessity to say, That in it there be many Material Mistaker, and more Omissions: I do conceive some of his Mistaker did proceed from a Belief in Mr. Thomas Fuller, who had too hastily published what he hath since most ingenuously retracted. And for the Bishop's Omissions, I suppose his more weighty Business and Want of Time, made him pass over many things without that due Examination, which my better Leisure, my Diligence, and my accidental Advantages, have made known unto me.

And now for my self, I can say I hope, or rather know, there are no Material Mistakes in what I here present to him that shall become my Reader. Little things that I have received by Tradition (to white there may be too much and too little Faith given) I will not at this distance of Time undertake to justifie; for though I have used great Diligence, and compared Relations and Circumstances, and probable Results and Expressions, yet I shall not impose my Belief apon my Reader; I shall not here leave him at liberty: But if there shall appear any Material Omission, I desire every Lover of Truth and the Memory of Mr. Hooker, that it may be made known unto me. And to incline him to it, I here promise to acknowledge and rectific any such Mistake in a second Impression, which the Printer says he hopes for; and by this means my weak (but faithful) Endeavours may become a better Monument, and in some degree more worthy the Memory of tisk Venerable Man.

I confess, that when I consider the great Learning and Virtue of Mr. Hooker, and what Satisfaction and Advantages many Eminent Scholars and Admirers of him have had by his Labours; I do not a little wonder that in Sixty years no man did undertake to tell Posterity of the Excellencies of his Life and Learning, and the Accidents of both; and sometimes wonder more at my self, that I have been persuaded to it; and indeed I do not easily pronounce my own Pardon, nor expect that my Reader shall, unless my Introduction shall prove my Apology.

[1665]

I HAVE been perswaded, by a Friend whom I reverence, and ought to beey, to write The Life of RICHARD HOOKER, the happy Author of Five (if not more) of the Eight learned Books of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity. And though I have undertaken it, yet it hath been with some unwillingness; because, I foresee that it must prove to me, and especially at this time of my Age, a work of much labour to enquire, consider, research, and determine what is needful to be known concerning him: For I knew him not in his Life, and must therefore not only look back to his Death, now 64 years past; but almost 50 years beyond that; even to his Childhood, and Youth, and gather thence such Observations and Prognosticks, as may at least adorn, if not prove necessary for the compleating of what I have undertaken.

This trouble I foresee; and foresee also, that it is impossible to escape Censures; against which, I will not hope my well-meaning and diligence can protect me, (for I consider the Age in which I live) and shall therefore but intreat of my Reader a suspension of his Censures, till I have made known unto him some Reasons, which I my self would now gladly believe do make me in some measure fit for this undertaking: and if these Reasons shall not acquit me from all Censures, they may at least abate of their severity, and this is all I can probably bone for.

My Reasons follow.

About forty years past (for I am now past the Seventy of my Age) I began a happy affinity with William Cranmer (now with God) grand Nephew unto the great Archbishop of that name, a Family of noted prudence and resolution; with him and two of his Sisters, I had an entire and free friendship: one of them was the Wife of Dr. Spencer, a Bosom-friend, and sometime Compupil with Mr. Hooker in Corpus Christi Colledge in Oxford, and after President of the same. I name them here, for that I shall have occasion to mention them in this following Discourse; as also George Cranmer their Brother, of whose useful abilities my Reader may have a more authentick Testimony, than my Pen can purchase for bim, by that of our learned Cambden, and others.

This Meekness and conjuncture of Knowledge, with Modesty in his Conversation, being observed by his Schoolmaster, caused him to perswade his Parents (who intended him for an Apprentice) to continue him at School, till he could find out some means, by per-swading his rich Uncle, or some other charitable person, to ease them of a part of their care and charge; assuring them, that their son was so enriched with the blessings of Nature and Grace, that God stemed to single him out as a special Instrument of his Glory. And the good man told them also, that he would double his diligence in instructing him, and would neither expect nor receive any other Reward, than the content of so hopeful and happy an employment.

This was not unwelcome News, and especially to his Mother, to whom he was a dutiful and dear Child; and all Parties were so pleased with this proposal, that it was resolved, so it should be. And in the mean time, his Parents and Master laid a foundation for his future happiness, by instilling into his Soul the seeds of Picty, those conscientious principles of loving and fearing God; of an early belief that he knows the very secrets of our Souls; That he punisheth our Vices, and rewards our Innocence; That we should be free from hypocrisie, and appear to man what we are to God, because first or last the crafty man is catch't in his own snare. These seeds of Piety were so seasonably planted, and so continually watered with the daily dew of Gods blessed Spirit, that his Infant-vertues grew into such holy habits, as did make him grow daily into more and more favour both with God and man; which, with the great Learning that he did after attain to, hath made Richard Hooker honour'd in this, and will continue him to be so to succeeding Generations.

This good Schoolmaster, whose Name I am not able to recover (and am sorry, for that I would have given him a better memorial in this humble Monument, dedicated to the memory of his Scholar) was very sollicitous with Jobn Hooker, then Chamberlain of Exetter, and Uncle to our Richard, to take his Nephew into his care, and to maintain him for one Year in the University, and in the mean time to use his endeavours to procure an admission for him into some Colledge, though it were but in a mean degree; till urging and assuring him.

that his Charge would not continue long, for the Lads Learning and Manners, were both so remarkable, that they must of necessity be taken notice of; and, that doubtless God would provide him some second Patron, that would free him and his Parents from their future care and charge.

These Reasons, with the affectionate Rhetorick of his good Master, and Gods blessing upon both, procured from his Uncle a faithful promise, that he would take him into his care and charge before the expiration of the Year following, which was performed by him, and with the assistance of the Learned Mr. John Jewel; of whom this may be noted that he left, or was about the first of Queen Maries Reign, expell'd out of Corpus-Christi Colledge in Oxford (of which he was a Fellow) for adhering to the Truth of those Principles of Religion, to which he had assented and given testimony in the days of het Brother and Predecessor Edward the Sixth; and this John Jewel having within a short time after a just cause to fear a more heavy punishment than Expulsion, was forced, by forsaking this, to seek safety in another Nation; and, with that safety, the enjoyment of that Doctrine and Worship, for which he suffer'd.

But the Cloud of that persecution and fear ending with the Life of Queen Mary, the Affairs of the Church and State did then look more clear and comfortable; so that he, and with him many others of the same judgment, made a happy return into England about the first of Queen Elizabeth, in which Year this John Jewel was sent a Commissioner or Visitor of the Churches of the Western parts of this Kingdom, and especially of those in Devousibire, in which County he was born: and then and there he contracted a friendship with John Hooker, the Uncle of our Richard.

About the second or third Year of her Reign, this John Jewel was made Bishop of Salisbury; and there being always observed in him a willingness to do good, and to oblige his Friends, and now a power added to this willingness: this John Hooker gave him a Visit in Salisbury, and becought him for Charity's sake to look favourably upon a poor Nephew of his, whom Nature had fitted for a Scholar, but the Estate of his Parents was so narrow, that they were unable to give him the advantage of

Learning; and that the Bishop would therefore become his Patron, and prevent him from being a Tradesman; for he was a Boy of remarkable hopes. And though the Bishop knew, men do not usually look with an indifferent eye upon their own Children and Relations, yet he assented so far to John Hooker, that he appointed the Boy and his Schoolmaster should attend him about Easter next following at that place: which was done accordingly; and then, after some Questions and observations of the Boys learning and gravity, and behaviour, the Bishop gave his Schoolmaster a reward, and took order for an annual Pension for the Boys Parents: promising also, to take him into his care for a future preferment, which he performed; for about the Fifteenth Year of his age, which was Anno 1567, he was by the Bishop appointed to remove to Oxford, and there to attend Dr. Cole, then President of Corpus-Christi Colledge. Which he did; and Dr. Cole had (according to a promise made to the Bishop) provided for him both a Tutor (which was said to be the learned Dr. John Reynolds) and a Clerks place in that Colledge: which place, though it were not a full maintenance, yet with the contribution of his Uncle, and the continued Pension of his Patron the good Bishop, gave him a comfortable subsistence. And in this condition he continued unto the Eighteenth Year of his age, still increasing in Learning and Prudence, and so much in Humility and Piety, that he seemed to be filled with the Holy Ghost, and even like St. John Baptist, to be sanctified from his Mothers womb, who did often bless the day in which she bare him.

About this time of his age he fell into a dangerous Sickness, which lasted two Months; all which time his Mother, having notice of it, did in her hourly prayers as earnestly beg his life of God, as Monica the Mother of St. Augustine did that he might become a true Christian; and their prayers were both so heard as to be granted. Which Mr. Hooker would often mention with much joy, and as often pray that be might never live to occasion any sorrow to so good a Mother; of whom, be would often say, be loved her so dearly, that he would endeavor to be good even as much for bers, as for his own sake.

As soon as he was perfectly recovered from this Sickness, he took a journey from Oxford to Exeter, to satisfie and see his good Mother,

being accompanied with a Countreyman and Companion of his own Colledge, and both on foot; which was then either more in fashion, or want of money, or their humility made it so: But on foot they went, and took Salisbury in their way, purposely to see the good Bishop, who made Mr. Hooker and his Companion dine with him at his own Table; which Mr. Hooker boasted of with much joy and gratitude when he saw his Mother and Friends: And at the Bishops parting with him, the Bishop gave him good Counsel, and his Benediction, but forgot to give him money; which when the Bishop had considered, he sent a Servant in all haste to call Richard back to him, and at Richards return, the Bishop said to him, Richard, I sent for you back to lend you a Horse, which bath carried me many a Mile, and I thank God with much ease; and presently delivered into his hand a Walking-staff, with which he professed he had travelled through many parts of Germany; and he said, Richard, I do not give, but lend you my Horse; be sure you be honest, and bring my Horse back to me at your return this way to Oxford. And I do now give you Ten Groats to bear your charges to Exeter; and here is Ten Groats more, which I charge you to deliver to your Mother, and tell ber, I send her a Bishops Benediction with it, and beg the continuance of her prayers for me. And if you bring my Horse back to me, I will give you Ten Groats more to carry you on foot to the Colledge, and so God bless you, good Richard.

And this, you may believe, was performed by both Parties. But, alas! the next News that followed Mr. Hooker to Oxford, was, that his learned and charitable Patron had changed this for a better life. Which happy change may be believed, for that as he lived, so he dyed, in devout meditation and prayer; and in both so realously, that it became a religious question, Whether his last Ejaculations, or his Soul, did first enter into Hauen?

And now Mr. Hooker became a man of sorrow and fear; of sorrow, for the loss of so dear and comfortable a Patron; and of fear, for his future subsistence: But Dr. Cole raised his spirits from this dejection, by bidding him go chearfully to his Studies, and assuring him he should neither want food nor raiment (which was the utmost of his hopes) for he would become his Patron.

And so he was for about nine months, and not longer; for about that time, this following accident did befall Mr. Hooker.

Edwin Sandys (sometime Bishop of London, and after Archbishop of York) had also been in the days of Queen Mary forced, by forsaking this, to seek safety in another Nation: where for some Years Bishon Jewell and he were Companions at Bed and Board in Germany; and, where in this their Exile they did often eat the bread of sorrow; and by that means they there began such a friendship, as lasted till the death of Bishop Jewell, which was in September 1571. A little before which time, the two Bishops meeting, Jewell had an occasion to begin a story of his Richard Hooker, and in it gave such a Character of his Learning and Manners, that though Bishop Sandys was educated in Cambridge, where he had obliged and had many Friends; yet his resolution was, that his Son Edwin should be sent to Corpus-Christi Colledge in Oxford, and by all means be Pupil to Mr. Hooker. though his Son Edwin was not much younger then Mr. Hooker then was: for, the Bishop said, I will have a Tutor for my Son that shall teach bim Learning by Instruction, and Vertue by Example; and my greatest care shall be of the last; and (God willing) this Richard Hooker shall be the Man into whose hands I will commit my Edwin. And the Bishop did so about twelve months, or not much longer, after this resolution.

And doubtless as to these two a better choice could not be made; for Mr. Hooker was now in the nineteenth year of his age, had spent five in the University, and had by a constant unwearied diligence attained unto a perfection in all the learned Languages; by the help of which, an excellent Tutor, and his unintermitted Studies, he had made the subtilty of all the Arts easie and familiar to him, and useful for the discovery of such Learning as lay hid from common Searchers; so that by these added to his great Reason, and his restless Industry added to both, He did not only know more of Causes and Effects, but what be knew, be knew better then other men. And with this Knowledge he had a most blessed and clear Method of Demonstrating what he knew, to the great advantage of all his Pupils (which in time were many) but especially to his two first, his dear Edwin Sandys, and his as dear

George Cranmer; of which there will be a fair Testimony in the ensuing Relation.

This for Mr. Hookers Learning. And for his Behaviour, amongst other Testimonies this still remains of him: That in four years, he was but twice absent from the Chappel prayers; and that his Behaviour there was such as shewed an awful reverence of that God which he then worshipped and prayed to; giving all outward testimonies that his Affections were set on heavenly things. This was his Behaviour towards God; and for that to Man; it is observable that he was never known to be angry, or passionate, or extream in any of his Desires; never heard to repine or dispute with Providence, but by a quiet gentle submission and resignation of his Will to the Wisdom of his Creator. bore the burthen of the day with Patience; never heard to utter an uncomly word: and by this, and a grave Behaviour, which is a Divine Charm, he begot an early Reverence unto his Person, even from those that at other times, and in other companies, took a liberty to cast off that strictness of Behaviour and Discourse that is required in a Collegiate Life. And when he took any liberty to be pleasant, his Wit was never blemisht with Scoffing, or the utterance of any Conceit that border'd upon, or might beget a thought of Looseness in his hearers. Thus mild, thus innocent and exemplary was his Behaviour in his Colledge; and, thus this good man continued till his death, still increasing in Learning, in Patience, and Pietv.

In this nineteenth year of his age, he was December 24. 1573, admitted to be one of the twenty Scholars of the Foundation, being elected and so admitted as born in Devon or Hantshire, out of which Countries a certain number are to be elected in Vacancies by the Founders Statutes. And now, as he was much encouraged, so now he was perfectly incorporated into this beloved Colledge, which was then noted for an eminent Library, strict Students, and remarkable Scholars. And indeed it may glory, that it had Cardinal Poole, but more, that it had Bishop Jewell, Doctor John Reynolds, and Doctor Thomas Jackson of that Foundation: the first famous for his Learned Apology for the Church of England, and his Defence of it against Harding. The Second, for the learned and wise Menage of a publick

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Dispute with John Hart (of the Romish perswasion) about the Head and Faith of the Church, and after printed by consent of both parties. And the Third, for his most excellent Exposition of the Creed, and other Treatises: All, such as have given greatest satisfaction to men of the greatest Learning: Nor was Doctor Jackson more Note-worthy for his Learning, than for his strict and pious Life, testified by his abundant love and meckness and charity to all men.

And in the year 1576. Febr. 23. Mr. Hookers Grace was given him for Inceptor of Arts, Dr. Herbert Westphaling, a man of note for Learning, being then Vice-chancellor. And the Act following he was compleated Master, which was Anno 1577. his Patron Doctor Cole being Vice-chancellor that year, and his dear friend Henry Savill of Merton Colledge being then one of the Proctors. 'Twas that Henry Savill, Warden of Merton Colledge, and Provost of Exton: He which founded in Oxford two famous Lectures, and endowed them with liberal maintenance.

'Twas that Sir Henry Savill, that translated and enlightned the History of Cornelius Tecitus, with a most excellent Comment; and enriched the world by his laborious and chargeable collecting the scattered pieces of S. Chrysostome, and the publication of them in one entire Body in Greek; in which Language he was a most judicious Critick. 'Twas this Sir Henry Savill, that had the happiness to be a Contemporary, and familiar friend to Mr. Hooker; and let Postetity know it.

And in this year of 1577. He was so happy as to be admitted Fellow of the Colledge; happy also in being the Contemporary and Friend of that Dr. John Reynolds, of whom I have lately spoken; and of Dr. Spencer: both which were after, and successively, made Presidents of Corpus-Christi Colledge; men of great Learning and Merit, and famous in their Generations.

Nor was Mr. Hooker more happy in his Contemporaries of his Time and Colledge, than in the Pupillage and Friendship of his Edwin Sandys and George Cranmer; of whom my Reader may note, that this Edwin Sandys was after Sir Edwin Sandys, and as famous for his Speculum Europæ, as his brother George for making Posterity beholden to his Pen by a learned Relation and Comment on his dangerous and

remarkable Travels, and, for his harmonious Translation of the Pralms of David, the Book of Job, and other Poetical parts of Holy Writ, into most high and elegant Verse. And for Crammer, his other Pupil, I shall refer my Reader to the printed Testimonies of our learned Mr. Cambden, of Fines Morrison, and others.

'This Cranmer (says Mr. Cambden, in his Annals of Queen Eliza-'beth) whose Christen name was George, was a Gentleman of singular 'hopes, the eldest Son of Thomas Cranmer, Son of Edmund Cranmer, 'the Archbishops brother: he spent much of his Youth in Corpus-'Christi Colledge in Oxford, where he continued Master of Arts for 'some time before he removed, and then betook himself to Travel, 'accompanying that worthy Gentleman Sir Edwin Sandys into France, 'Germany, and Italy, for the space of three years; and after their happy return he betook himself to an Imployment under Secretary Davison 'a Privy Counsellor of note, who for an unhappy undertaking, be-'came clouded and pitied, after whose Fall, he went in place of Secre-'tary with Sir Henry Killegrew in his Embassage into France: and after 'his death he was sought after by the most Noble Lord Mount-Joy, 'with whom he went into Ireland, where he remained untill in a battel 'against the Rebels, near Carlingford, an unfortunate wound put an 'end both to his Life, and the great hopes that were conceived of him: 'he being then but in the 36 year of his age.

Betwixt Mr. Hooker and these his two Pupils, there was a sacred Friendship; a Friendship made up of Religious Principles, which increased daily by a similitude of Inclinations to the same Recreations and Studies; a Friendship elemented in Youth, and in an University, free from self-ends, which the Friendships of Age usually are not: and in this sweet, this blessed, this spiritual Amity they went on for many years; and as the Holy Prophet saith, so they took sweet consel together, and walked in the House of God as Friends. By which means they improved this friendship to such a degree of holy Amity as bordered upon Heaven; a Friendship so sacred, that when it ended in this world, it began in that next, where it shall have no end.

And though this world cannot give any degree of Pleasure equal to such a Friendship: yet Obedience to Parents, and a desire to know

the Affairs, Manners, Laws, and Learning of other Nations, that they might thereby become the more serviceable unto their own: made them put off their Gowns, and leave the Colledge and Mr. Hooker to his Studies; in which he was daily more assiduous: still enriching his quiet and capacious Soul with the precious Learning of the Philosophers, Casuists, and School-men; and with them, the foundation and reason of all Laws, both Sacred and Civil: and indeed, with such other Learning as lay most remote from the track of common Studies. And as he was diligent in these, so he seemed restless in searching the scope and intention of Gods Spirit revealed to Mankind in the Sacred Scripture: for the understanding of which, he seemed to be assisted by the same Spirit with which they were written: He that regardeth truth in the inward parts, making him to understand wisdom secretly. And the good man would often say, that God abbors confusion as contrary to his nature, and as often say, that the Scripture was not writ to beget Disputations, and Pride, and Opposition to Government; but Charity and Humility, Moderation, Obedience to Authority, and peace to Mankind: of which vertues, he would as often say, no man did ever repent himself on his deathbed. And that this was really his judgment, did appear in his future writings, and in all the actions of his life. Nor was this excellent man a stranger to the more light and airy parts of Learning, as Musick and Poetry; all which he had digested, and made useful; and of all which the Reader will have a fair testimony in what will follow.

In the Year 1579, the Chancellor of the University was given to understand, that the publick Hebreu Lecture was not read according to the Statutes; nor could be, by reason of a distemper that had then seiz'd the brain of Mr. Kingemill, who was to read it; so that it lay long unread, to the great detriment of those that were studious of that language: Therefore, the Chancellor writ to his Vice-chancellor, and the University, that he had heard such commendations of the excellent knowledge of Mr. Richard Hooker in that tongue, that he desired he might be procured to read it: And he did, and continued to do so, till he left Oxford.

Within three months after his undertaking this Lecture (namely in

October 1579.) he was with Dr. Reynolds, and others expell'd his Colledge; and this Letter transcrib'd from Dr. Reynolds his own hand, may give some account of it.

To Sir Francis Knolles.

I am sorry, Right Honourable, that I am enforced to make unto you such a suit, which I cannot move, but I must complain of the unrighteeus dealing of one of our Colledge; who hoth taken upon him against all Law and Resson, to expell out of our House, both me and Mr. Hooket, and three other of our Fellows, for doing that which by Oath we were bound to do. Our matter must be beard before the Bishop of Winchester, with whom I do not doubt, but we shall find equity. Howbeit, forsamuch as some of our adversaries have said, that the Bishop is already forestalled, and will not give us such audience as we look for, therefore I am humbly to beseech your Honour, that you will desire the Bishop, by your Letters, to let us have Justice; though it he with rigour, so it be Justice: our Cause is so good, that I am sure we shall prevail by it. Thus much I am bold to request of your Honour for Corpus-Christi Colledge sake, or rather for Christis Sake; whom I beseech to bless you with daily encrease of his manifold gifts, and the blessed graces of his boly Spirit.

London, Octob. 9. Your HONOURS in Christ to command, JOHN REYNOLDS.

This Expulsion was by Dr. John Barfoote, then Vice-president of the Colledge, and Chaplain to Ambrose Earl of Warwick. I cannot learn the pretended cause; but, that they were restor'd the same Month is most certain.

I return to Mr. Hooker in his Colledge, where he continued his studies with all quietness, for the space of three years; about which time, he enter'd into Sacred Orders, being then made Deacon and Priest; and, not long after, was appointed to preach at St. Pauls Cross.

In order to which Sermon, to London he came, and immediately to the Shunamites house; (which is a House so called, for that, besides the Stipend paid the Preacher, there is provision made also for his Lodging and Diet for two days before, and one day after his Sermon;)

this house was then kept by John Churchman, sometimes a Draper of good Note in Watling-street, upon whom poverty had at last come like an armed man, and brought him into a necessitous condition; which, though it he a punishment, is not always an argument of Gods disfavour, for he was a vertuous man; I shall not yet give the like testimony of his Wife, but leave the Reader to judge by what follows. But to this house Mr. Hooker came so wet, so weary, and weather beaten, that he was never known to express more passion, than against a Friend that dissuaded him from footing it to London, and for finding him no easier an Horse; supposing the Horse trotted, when he did not: And at this time also, such a faintness and fear possest him, that he would not be perswaded two days rest and quietness, or any other means could be used to make him able to preach his Sunday Sermon; but a warm Bed, and Rest, and Drink, proper for a Cold, given him by Mrs. Churchman, and her diligent attendance added unto it, enabled him to perform the office of the day, which was in or about the Year 1581.

And in this first publick appearance to the World, he was not so happy as to be free from Exceptions against a point of Doctrine delivered in his Sermon; which was, That in God there were two Wills, an Antecedent, and a Consequent Will; bis first Will, that all Mankind should be saved; but his second Will was, that those only should be saved, that did live answerable to that degree of Grace which he had offered, or afforded them. This seemed to cross a late Opinion of Mr. Calvins, and then taken for granted by many that had not a capacity to examine it, as it had been by him before, and hath been since by Master Henry Mason, Dr. Jackson, Dr. Hammond, and others of great Learning, who believ'd that a contrary Opinion intrenches upon the Honour and Justice of our merciful God. How he justified this, I will not undertake to declare, but it was not excepted against (as Mr. Hooker declares in his rational Answer to Mr. Travers) by John Elmer, then Bishop of London; at this time one of his Auditors, and at last one of his Advocates too. when Mr. Hooker was accused for it.

But the justifying of this Doctrine did not prove of so bad consequence, as the kindness of Mrs. Churchmans curing him of his late

Distemper and Cold; for that was so gratefully apprehended by Mr. Hooker, that he thought himself bound in conscience to believe all that she said; so that the good man came to be perswaded by her, that be was a man of a tender constitution, and that it was best for him to have a Wife, that might prove a Nurse to him; such an one as might both prolong his life, and make it more comfortable; and such a one she could and would provide for him, if he thought fit to marry. And he not considering, that the children of this world are wiser in their generation, than the children of light; but, like a true Nathanael, fearing no guile, because he meant none, did give her such a power as Eleazar was trusted with, (you may read it in the book of Genesis) when he was sent to choose a Wife for Isaac: for even so he trusted her to choose for him, promising upon a fair summons to return to London, and accept of her choice; and he did so in that or about the year following. Now the Wife provided for him, was her Daughter Joan, who brought him neither Beauty nor Portion; and for her Conditions, they were too like that Wife's which is by Solomon compar'd to a dripping house; so that the good man had no reason to rejoice in the Wife of his Youth; but too just cause to say with the holy Prophet, Wo is me that I am constrained to have my habitation in the tents of Kedar.

This choice of Mr. Hookers (if it were his choice) may be wondred at; but let us consider that the Prophet Ezekiel says, There is a wheel within a wheel, a secret Sacred wheel of Providence (most visible in Marriages) guided by his hand, that allows not the race to the swift, nor bread to the wise, nor good wives to good men: and he that can bring good out of evil, (for Mortals are blind to this Reason) only knows why this blessing was denied to patient Job, to meek Moses, and to our as meek and patient Mr. Hooker. But so it was; and let the Reader cease to wonder, for Affliction is a Divine diet, which though it be not pleasing to Mankind, yet Almighty God hath often, very often imposed it as good, though bitter Physick to those children whose Souls are dearest to him.

And by this marriage the good man was drawn from the tranquillity of his Colledge, from that Garden of Piety, of Pleasure, of Peace, and a sweet Conversation, into the thorny Wilderness of a busic World;

into those corroding cares that attend a married Priest, and a Countrey Parsonage: which was Draiton Beauchamp in Buckinghamshire, not far from Alesbury, and in the Diocess of Lincoln; to which he was presented by John Cheny Esquire, then Patton of it, the 9th of December 1584, where he behaved himself so as to give no occasion of evil, but (as St. Paul adviseth a Minister of God) in much patience, in afflictions, in anguishes, in necessities; in poverty, and no doubt in long-suffering: yet troubling no man with his discontents and wants.

And in this condition he continued about a year, in which time his two Pupils. Edwin Sandys and George Cranmer, took a journey to see their Tutor, where they found him with a Book in his hand (it was the Odes of Horace) he being then like humble and innocent Abel, tending his small allotment of sheep in a common field, which he told his Pupils he was forced to do then, for that his servant was gone home to Dine, and assist his Wife to do some necessary houshold business. But when his servant returned and released him, then his two Pupils attended him unto his house, where their best entertainment was his quiet company, which was presently denied them: for, Richard was call'd to rock the Cradle; and the rest of their welcom was so like this, that they staid but till next morning, which was time enough to discover and pity their Tutors condition; and they having in that time rejoiced in the remembrance, and then paraphrased on many of the innocent recreations of their younger days, and other like diversions, and thereby given him as much present comfort as they were able, they were forced to leave him to the company of his wife Joan, and seek themselves a quieter Lodging for next night: But at their parting from him, Mr. Cranmer said, Good Tutor, I am sorry your lot is fall'n in no better ground as to your Parsonage; and more sorry that your Wife proves not a more comfortable Companion after you have wearied your self in your restless studies. To whom the good man replied, My dear George, If Saints have usually a double share in the miseries of this life, I that am none, ought not to repine at what my wise Creator hath appointed for me, but labour, (as indeed I do daily) to submit mine to his Will, and possess my soul in patience, and peace.

At their return to London, Edwin Sandys acquaints his father, who

was then Archbishop of York, with his Tutors sad condition, and sollicits for his removal to some Benefice that might give him a more quiet and a more comfortable subsistence; which his father did most willingly grant him, when it should next fall into his power. And not long after this time, which was in the year 1585. Mr. Alvie (Master of the Temple) died, who was a man of a strict Life, of great Learning, and of so venerable Behaviour, as to gain so high a degree of love and reverence from all men, that he was generally known by the name of Father Alvie, And at the Temple-Reading, next after the death of this Father Alvie, he the said Archbishop of York being then at Dinner with the Judges, the Reader, and Benchers of that Society, met with a general Condolement for the death of Father Alvie, and with a high commendation of his Saint-like life, and of his great merit both towards God and man: and as they bewail'd his death, so they wish't for a like pattern of Virtue and Learning to succeed him. And here came in a fair occasion for the Bishop to commend Mr. Hooker to Father Alvies place, which he did with so effectual an earnestness, and that seconded with so many other Testmonies of his worth, that Mr. Hooker was sent for from Draiton Beauchamp to London, and there the Mastership of the Temple proposed unto him by the Bishop, as a greater freedom from his Country cares, the advantage of a better Society, and a more liberal Pension than his Countrey Parsonage did afford him. But these Reasons were not powerful enough to incline him to a willing acceptance of it; his wish was rather to gain a better Countrey living, where he might see Gods blessings spring out of the Earth, and be free from Noise (so he exprest the desire of his heart) and eat that bread which he might more properly call his own in privacy and quietness. But, notwithstanding this aversness, he was at last perswaded to accept of the Bishops proposal, and was by Patent for Life, made

it, and be left it, 33 Eliz.

³ This you may find in the Temple Records. William Etrnstead was Master of the Temple at the Dissolution of the Priory; and died 2 Eliz. Richard Alvey Bat. Divinity, Par. 13, Febr. 2 Eliz, Magister sine Custos Domús & Ecclesia novi Templi, died 27 Eliz. Richard Hooker succeeded that year by Patents in terminis, as Alvey bad

That year Dr. Balgey succeeded Richard Hooker.

Master of the Temple the 17th of March 1585. he being then in the 34th year of his age.

And here I shall make a stop; and, that the Reader may the better judge of what follows, give him a character of the Times, and Temper of the people of this Nation, when Mr. Hooker had his admission into this place; a place which he accepted, rather than desired; and yet here he promised himself a virtuous quietness, that blessed Tranquillity which healways prayed and labour'd for, that so he might in peace bring forth the fruits of peace, and glorific God by uninterrupted prayers and praises: for this he always thirsted and prayed: but Almighty God did not grantit, for his admission into this place, was the very beginning of those oppositions and anxieties, which till then this good man was a stranger to; and of which the Reader may guess by what follows.

In this character of the Times, I shall, by the Readers favour, and for his information, look so far back as to the beginning of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth; a time, in which the many pretended Titles to the Crown, the frequent Treasons, the Doubts of her Successor, the late Civil War, and the sharp Persecution for Religion that raged to the effusion of so much blood in the Reign of Queen Mary, were fresh in the memory of all men; and begot fears in the most pious and wisest of this Nation, lest the like days should return again to them, or their present posterity. And, the apprehension of these dangers begot a hearty desire of a settlement in the Church and State; believing, there was no other probable way left to make them sit quietly under their own Vines and Fig-trees, and enjoy the desired fruit of their Labours. But Time, and Peace, and Plenty, begot Self-ends, and these begot Animosities, Enuv. Opposition, and Unthankfulness for those very blessings for which they lately thirsted, being then the very utmost of their desires, and even beyond their hopes.

This was the temper of the Times in the beginning of her Reign; and thus it continued too long; for, those very people that had enjoyed the desires of their hearts in a Reformation from the Church of Rome, became at last so like the grave, as never to be satisfied, but were still thirsting for more and more; neglecting to pay that Obedience, and

perform those Vows which they made in their days of adversities and fear: so that in short time, there appeared three several Interests, each of them fearless and restless in the prosecution of their designs; they may for distinction be called, The active Romanists, The restless Non-conformists (of which there were many sorts) and The passive peaceable Protestant. The Counsels of the first considered, and resolved on in Rome: the second both in Scotland, in Genena, and in divers selected, secret, dangerous Conventicles, both there, and within the bosom of our own Nation: the third pleaded and defended their Cause by establisht Laws, both Ecclesiastical and Civil; and, if they were active, it was to prevent the other two from destroying what was by those known Laws happily establisht to them and their Posterity.

I shall forbear to mention the very many and dangerous Plots of the Romanists against the Church and State, because what is principally intended in this digression, is an account of the Opinions and Activity of the Non-conformists; against whose judgment and practice, Mr. Hooker became at last, but most unwillingly, to be ingaged in a Bookwar; a War, which he maintained not as against an Enemy, but with the spirit of meekness and reason.

In which number of Non-conformists, though some might be sincere, well-meaning men, whose indiscreet Zeal might be so like Charity, as thereby to cover a multitude of their Errors; yet, of this party, there were many that were possest with a high degree of spiritual wickedness; I mean, with an innate restless pride, and malice. I do not mean the visible carnal sins of Gluttony, and Drunkenness, and the like (from which good Lord deliver us) but sins of a higher nature, because they are more unlike God, who is the God of love and mercy, and order, and peace; and more like the Devil, who is not a Glutton, nor can be drunk, and yet is a Devil; but I mean those spiritual wickednesses of malice and revenge, and an opposition to Government: Men that joyed to be the Authors of misery, which is properly his work that is the enemy and disturber of Mankind; and thereby, greater sinners then the glutton or drunkard, though some will not believe it. And of this party, there were also many, whom prejudice and a furious zeal had so blinded. as to make them neither to hear reason, nor adhere to the ways of

peace: Men, that were the very dregs and pest of Mankind; men whom Pride and Self-conteit, had made to over-value their own pitiful, crooked wisdom so much, as not to be asham'd to hold foolish and unmannerly Disputes against those men whom they ought to reverence; and those Laws which they ought to obey: Men, that labour'd and joyed first to find out the faults, and then to speak evil of Government; and to be the Authors of Confusion: Men, whom Company, and Conversation, and Custom, had at last so blinded, and made so insensible that these were sins, that, like those that perisht in the gainsaying of Core, so these died without repenting of these spiritual wickednesses: of which the practies of Copinger, and Hacket in their lives; and the death of them and their adherents, are God knows too sad examples; and, ought to be cautions to those men that are inclin'd to the like spiritual wickednesses.

And in these Times which tended thus to Confusion, there were also many of these scruple mongers that pretended a tenderness of Conscience, refusing to take an Oath before a lawful Magistrate, and yet these very men, in their secret Conventicles, did covenant and swear to each other, to be assiduous and faithful in using their best endeavours to set up the Presbyterian Doctrine and Discipline; and both in such a manner as they themselves had not yet agreed on, but up that government must. To which end, there were many that wandred up and down, and were active in sowing Discontents and Sedition. by venomous and secret murmurings, and a dispersion of scurrilous Pamphlets and Libels against the Church and State, but especially against the Bishops; by which means, together with venomous and indiscreet Sermons, the common people became so phanatick, as to believe the Bishops to be Antichrist, and the only obstructers of Gods Discipline; and at last some of them were given over to so bloody a Zeal, and such other desperate delusions, as to find out a Text in the Revelation of St. John, that Antichrist was to be overcome by the Sword. So that those very men, that began with tender and meek Petitions, proceeded to Admonitions, then to Satyrical Remonstrances, and at last, having like Absolom numbred who was not, and who was, for their Cause, they got a supposed certainty of so great a Party, that they

durst threaten first the Bishops, and then the Queen and Parliament; to all which they were secretly encouraged by the Earl of Leiester, then in great favour with Her Majesty, and the reputed Cherisher and Patrongeneral of these pretenders to Tenderness of Conscience; his design being, by their means, to bring such an odium upon the Bishops, as to procure an Alienation of their Lands, and a large proportion of them for himself: which avaritious desire had at last so blinded his reason, that his ambitious and greedy hopes seem'd to put him into a present possession of Lambeth-bouse.

And to these undertakings, the Non-conformists of this Nation were much encouraged and heightned by a Correspondence and Confederacy with that Brotherhood in Scotland; so that here they became so bold, that 'one told the Queen openly in a Sermon, She was like an untanned Heyfer, that would not be ruled by Gode people, but obstructed his Discipline. And in Scotland they were more confident, for, there 'they declared Her an Atheist, and grew to such an height, as not to be accountable for any thing spoken against Her, nor for Treason against their own King, if it were but spoken in the Pulpit; shewing at last such a dissobedience to Him, that His Mother being in England, and then in distress, and in prison, and in danger of death; the Church denied the King their prayers for her: and, at another time, when He had appointed a day of Feasting, the Church declared for a general Fast, in opposition to His Authority.

To this height they were grown in both Nations; and by these means there was distill'd into the minds of the common people such other venomous and turbulent principles, as were inconsistent with the safety of the Church and State; and these opinions vented so daringly, that, beside the loss of life and limbs, the governors of the Church and State were forced to use such other severities as will not admit of an excuse, if it had not been to prevent the gangeren of Confusion, and the perilous consequences of it; which, without such prevention, would have been first Confusion, and then Ruine and Misery to this numerous Nation.

¹ Mr. Dering.

² Vide Bishop Spotswoods History of the Church of Scotland.

These Errors and Animosities were so remarkable, that they begot wonder in an ingenious Italian, who being about this time come newly into this Nation, and considering them, writ scoffingly to a friend in his own Country, to this purpose, That the Common people of England were wiser than the wisest of his Nation; for here the very Women and Shopkeepers, were able to judge of Predestination, and to determine what Laws were fit to be made concerning Church-government; and then, what were fit to be obeyed or abolisht: That they were more able (or at least thought so) to raise and determine perplext Cases of Conscience, than the wisest of the most learned Colledges in Italy; That men of the slightest Learning, and the most ignorant of the Common people, were mad for a new, or, Super, or Rereformation of Religion; and that in this they appeared like that man, who would never cease to whet and whet his knife, till there was no steel left to make it useful. And he concluded his Letter with this observation, That those very men that were most busie in Oppositions, and Disputations, and Controversies, and finding out the faults of their Governors, had usually the least of Humility and Mortification, or of the power of Godliness.

And to heighten all these Discontents and Dangers there was also sprung up a generation of Godless men; men that had so long given way to their own lusts and delusions, and so highly opposed the blessed motions of his Spirit, and the inward light of their own Consciences, that they became the very slaves of vice, and had thereby sinned themselves into a belief of that which they would, but could not believe; into a belief which is repugnant even to humane Nature (for the Heathens believe that there are many gods) but these had sin'd themselves into a belief that there was no God; and so, finding nothing in themselves but what was worse than nothing, began to wish what they were not able to hope for; namely, that they might be like the beasts that perish: And in wicked company (which is the Atheists Sanctuary) were so bold as to say so, though the worst of Mankind when he is left alone at midnight, may wish, but is not then able to think it: even into a belief that there is no God. Into this wretched, this reprobate condition, many had then sinned themselves.

And now, when the Church was pestered with them, and with all those other forenamed Irregularities; when her Lands were in danger of Alienation, her Power at least neglected, and her Peace torn to pieces by several Schisms, and such Heresies as do usually attend that sin, (for Heresies do usually out-live their first Authors) when the Common people seemed ambitious of doing those very things that were forbidden and attended with most dangers, that thereby they might be punish'd, and then applauded and pitied; when they called the Spirit of opposition a Tender Conscience, and complained of persecution, because they wanted power to persecute others; when the giddy multitude raged, and became restless to find out misery for themselves and others; and the Rabble would herd themselves together, and endeavour to govern and act in spight of Authority: In this extremity of fear, and danger of the Church and State, when to suppress the growing evils of both, they needed a man of prudence and piety, and of an high and fearless fortitude, they were blest in all by John Whitgift his being made Archbishop of Canterbury; of whom Sir Henry Wotton that knew him well in his youth, and had studied him in his age, gives this true Character: That he was a man of Reverend and Sacred memory: and of the primitive temper; such a temper, as when the Church by lowliness of Spirit did flourish in highest examples of Virtue. And indeed, this man prov'd so.

And though I date not undertake to add to this excellent and true character of Sir Henry Wotton: yet I shall neither do right to this Discourse, nor to my Reader, if I forbear to give him a further and short account of the life and manners of this excellent man; and it shall be short, for I long to end this digression, that I may lead my Reader back to Mr. Hooker, where we left him at the Temple.

John Whitgift was born in the County of Lincoln, of a Family that was ancient, and noted to be both prudent, and affable, and Gentle by nature; he was educated in Cambridge, much of his Learning was acquired in Pembroke Hall, (where Mr. Bradford the Martyr was his Tutor) from thence he was remov'd to Peter-bouse, from thence to be Master of Pembroke Hall, and from thence to the Master strong of Trinity Colledge: About which time, the Queen made him Her Chaplain,

and not long after Prebend of Ely, and then Dean of Lincoln; and having for many years past look't upon him with much reverence and favour, gave him a fair testimony of both, by giving him the Bishoprick of Worester, and (which was not with her a usual favour) forgiving him his First-fruits; then by constituting him Vice-president of the principality of Wales. And having experimented his Wisdom, his Justice, and Moderation in the menage of Her affairs, in both these places; She, in the 26th of Her Reign, made him Archbishop of Canterbury, and not long after of Her Privy Council, and trusted him to manage all Her Ecclesiastical Affairs and Preferments. In all which Removes, he was like the Ark, which left a blessing upon the place where it rested; and in all his Imployments was like Jeboiada, that did good unto Irrael.

These were the steps of this Bishops ascension to this place of dignity and cares: in which place (to speak Mr. Cambdens very words in his Annals of Queen Elizabeth) he devoutly consecrated both his whole life to God, and his painful labours to the good of his Church. And yet in this place he met with many oppositions in the regulation of Churchaffairs, which were much disordered at his entrance, by reason of the age and remisness of Bishop Grindall, his immediate Predecessor, the activity of the Non-conformists, and their chief assistant the Earl of Leicester; and indeed, by too many others of the like Sacrilegious principles. With these he was to encounter; and though he wanted neither courage, nor a good cause; yet he foresaw that without a great measure of the Queens favour, it was impossible to stand in the breach that had been lately made into the Lands and Immunities of the Church. or indeed to maintain the remaining lands and rights of it. And therefore by justifiable sacred Insinuations, such as St. Paul to A grinna. (Agrippa, believest thou? I know thou believest) he wrought himself into so great a degree of favour with Her, as by his pious use of it hath got both of them a great degree of Fame in this World, and of Glory in that into which they are now both entred.

His merits to the Queen, and Her favours to him were such, that She called him her little black Husband, and called his Servants Her Servants: and She saw so visible and blessed a sincerity shine in all his cares and

endeavours for the Churches, and for Her good, that She was supposed to trust him with the very secrets of Her Soul, and to make him Her Confessor; of which She gave many fair testimonies, and of which one was, that She would never eat Flesh in Lent without obtaining a Licence from her little black Husband: and would often say, She pitted him because She trusted him, and had thereby eased Her self, by laying the burthen of all Her Clergy-cares upon his shoulders; which he managed with prudence & piety.

I shall not keep my self within the promised Rules of brevity in this account of his Interest with Her Majesty, and his care of the Churches Rights, if in this digression I should enlarge to particulars; and therefore my desire is, that one Example may serve for a Testimony of both. And, that the Reader may the better understand it, he may take notice. that not many years before his being made Archbishop, there passed an Act or Acts of Parliament, intending the better preservation of the Church-lands, by recalling a power which was vested in others to Sell or Lease them, by lodging and trusting the future care and protection of them only in the Crown: And amongst many that made a bad use of this power or trust of the Queens, the Earl of Leicester was one: and the Bishop having by his Interest with Her Majesty, put a stop to the Earls sacrilegious designs, they two fell to an open opposition before Her; after which they both quitted the Room, not friends in appearance; but the Bishop made a sudden and a seasonable return to Her Majesty (for he found Her alone) and spake to Her with great humility and reverence, to this purpose,

I beseech Your Majesty to hear me with patience, and to believe that Yours, and the Churches safety, are dearer to me than my Life; but my Conscience dearer than both: and therefore give me leave to do my Duty, and tell You, That Princes are deputed Nursing Fathers of the Church, and owe it a protection; and therefore God forbid that You should be so much as Passive in her Ruines, when You may prevent it; or that I should behold it without barror and detestation, or should forbear to tell Your Majesty of the sin and langer of Sactiledge: And, though You and my self were born in an Age of Frailities, when the primitive piety and care of the Churches Lands and Immunities are much decayed; yet (Madam) let me beg that you would first communities are much decayed; yet (Madam) let me beg that you would first communities are much decayed; yet (Madam) let me beg that you would first com-

sider that there are such sins as Prophaneness and Sacriledge; and that if there were not, they could not have names in Holy Writ, and particularly in the New Testament. And I beseech you to consider, that though our Saviour said. He judged no man; and to testifie it, would not judge nor divide the inheritance betwixt the two Brethren; nor would judge the Woman taken in Adultery: yet in this point of the Churches Rights he was so zealous, that he made himself both the Accuser, and the Judge, and the Executioner too, to punish these sins; witnessed, in that he himself made the Whip to drive the Prophaners out of the Temple, overthrew the Tables of the Money-changers, and drove them out of it. And I beseech you to consider that it was St. Paul that said to those Christians of his time that were offended with Idolatry, and yet committed Sacriledge; Thou that abhorrest Idols, dost thou commit Sacriledge? Supposing (I think) Sacriledge the greater sin. This may occasion Your Majesty to consider that there is such a sin as Sacriledge; and to incline You to prevent the Curse that will follow it, I beseech You also to consider, that Constantine the first Christian Emperor, and Helena his Mother; that King Edgar, and Edward the Confessor, and indeed many others of Your Predecessors, and many private Christians, have also given to God, and to his Church, much Land, and many Immunities, which they might have given to those of their own Families, and did not: but gave them for ever as an absolute Right and Sacrifice to God: And with these Immunities and Lands they have entail'd a Curse upon the Alienators of them: God prevent Your Majesty and Your Successors from being liable to that Curse which will cleave unto Church-lands, as the Leprosie to the Jews.

And, to make You that are trusted with their preservation, the better to understand the danger of it, I beseets You forget not, that to prevent these Curses, the Churches Land and Power have been also endeavoured to be preserved (as far as Flumane Reason, and the Law of this Nation have been able to preserve them) by an immediate and most sacred Obligation on the Consciences of the Princes of this Realm: For they that consult Magna Charta, shall find, that as all Your Predecessors were at their Coronation, so You also were sworn before all the Nobility and Bishops then present, and in the presence of God, and in his stead to him that anothed You, To maintain the Churchlands, and the Rights belonging to it, and this you Your self have testified openly to God at the boly Altar, by lavine Your bands on the Bible then Iving

upon it: And, not only Magna Charta, but many modern Statutes have denounced a Curse upon those that break Magna Charta: A Curse like the Leptosie, that was intail'd on the Jews; for, as that, so these Curses have and will cleave to the very stones of those buildings that have been consecrated to God; and the fathers sin of Sacriledge, bath and will prove to be intail'd on his Son and Family. And now Madam, what account can be given for the breach of this Oath at the last great day, either by Your Majesty, or by me, if it be wilfully, or but negligently violated, I know not?

And therefore, good Madam, let not the late Lords Exceptions ogainst the failings of some few Clergymen, prevail with You to punish Posterity, for the Errors of this present Age; let particular men suffer for their particular Errors; but let God and his Church bave their Inheritance. And though I pretend not to Prophesite; yet I beg Posterity to take notice of what is already become withle in many Families; That Church-land added to an ancient and just Inhetitance, hat proved like a Moth fretting a Garment, and secretly consumed both: Or like the Eagle that stole a coal from the Altar, and thereby set her Nest on fire, which consumed both her young Eagles, and her self that stole it. And though I shall forbear to speak reproachfully of Your Father, yet I beg You to take notice, that a part of the Churcher Rights, added to the wast Treasure left him by his Father, bath been conceived to bring an unavoidable Consumption upon both, notwithstanding all his diligence to preserve them.

And consider that after the violation of those Laws, to which be had sworn in Magna Charta, God did so far deny him his restraining Grace, that as King Saul after he was forsaken of God, fell from one sin to another; so be, till at last he fell into greater sins than I am willing to mention. Madam, Religion is the Foundation and Cement of humane Societies; and when they that serve at Gods Altar, shall be exposed to Poverty, then Religion it self will be exposed to scorn, and become contemptible, as You may already observe it to be in too many poor Vicaridges in this Nation. And therefore, as You are by a late Act or Acts of Parliament entrusted with a great power to preserve or waste the Churches Lands, yet dispose of them for Jesus sake, as you have promised to men, and vowed to God, that is, as the Donots intended; let neither Falshood nor Flattery beguile You to do otherwise: but, put a stop to Gods and the Levites portion (I beseech You) and to the approach.

ing Ruines of his Church, as You expect comfort at the last great day; for Kings must be judged; Pardon this effectionate plainness, my most dear Soveraign; and let me beg to be still continued in Your favour, and the Lord still continue You in his.

The Queens patient hearing this affectionate Speech, and her future Care to preserve the Churches Rights, which till then had been neglected, may appear a fair Testimony, that he made hers and the Churches Good the chiefest of his Cares, and that she also thought so. And of this there were such daily testimonies given, as begot betwixt them so mutual a joy and confidence, that they seemed born to believe and do good to each other; she not doubting his Piety to be more than all his Opposers, which were many; nor doubting his Prudence to be equal to the chiefest of her Council, who were then as remarkable for active Wisdom, as those dangerous Times did require, or this Nation did ever enjoy. And in this condition he continued twenty years; in which time, he saw some Flowings, but many more Ebbines of her Favour towards all men that had opposed him. especially the Earl of Leicester: so that God seemed still to keep him in her Favour, that he might preserve the remaining Church Lands and Immunities from Sacrilegious Alienations. And this Good man deserved all the Honour and Power with which she gratified and trusted him; for he was a pious man, and naturally of Noble and Grateful Principles: he eased her of all her Church-cares by his wise Menage of them; he gave her faithful and prudent Counsels in all the Extremities and Dangers of her Temporal Affairs, which were very many; he lived to be the chief Comfort of her Life in her Declining age, and to be then most frequently with her, and her Assistant at her private Devotions, he liv'd to be the greatest Comfort of her Soul upon her Death-bed; to be present at the Expiration of her last Breath, and to behold the closing of those Eyes that had long looked upon him with Reverence and Affection. And let this also be added, that he was the Chief Mourner at her sad Funeral; nor let this be forgotten, that within a few hours after her death, he was the happy Proclaimer, that King James (her peaceful Successor) was Heir to the Crown.

Let me beg of my Reader to allow me to say a little, and but a little, more of this good Bishop, and I shall then presently lead him back to Mr. Hooker; and, because I would hasten, I will mention but one part of the Bishops Charity and Humility; but this of both: He built a large Alms-house near to his own Palace at Croydon in Surry, and endowed it with Maintenance for a Master and twenty eight poor Men and Women; which he visited so often, that he knew their Names and Dispositions, and was so truly humble, that he called them Brothers and Sisters; and whensoever the Queen descended to that lowliness to dine with him at his Palace in Lambeth (which was very often) he would usually the next day shew the like lowliness to his poor Brothers and Sisters at Croydon, and dine with them at his Hospital; at which time, you may believe, there was Joy at the Table. And at this place he built also a fair Free-School, with a good Accommodation and Maintenance for the Master and Scholars; Which gave just occasion for Boyse Sisi, then Embassador for the French King, and Resident here, at the Bishops death to say, The Bishop had published many learned Books, but a Free-school to train up Youth, and an Hospital to lodge and maintain aged and poor People, were the best Evidences of Christian Learning that a Bishop could leave to Posterity. This good Bishop lived to see King James setled in Peace, and then fell into an extream sickness at his Palace in Lambeth; of which when the King had notice, he went presently to visit him, and found him in his Bed in a declining condition, and very weak; and after some short discourse betwixt them, the King, at his departure assured him, He had a great Affection for him, and a very high value for his Prudence and Vertues, and would indeavour to beg his life of God for the good of his Church. To which the good Bishop replied, Pro Ecclesia Dei, Pro Ecclesia Dei: which were the last words he ever spake; therein testifying, that as in his Life, so at his Death, his chiefest care was of Gods Church.

This John Whitgift was made Archbishop in the year 1583. In which busie place, he continued twenty years and some moneths; and in which time, you may believe, he had many Trials of his Courage and Patience; but his Motto was, Vincit, qui patitur: and he made it good. Many of his many Trials were occasioned by the then powerful Earl.

Mr. Travers had also a particular hope to set up this Government in the Temple, and to that end used his most zealous endeavours to be Master of it; and his being disappointed by Mr. Hookers admittance, proved the occasion of a publick opposition betwixt them, in their Setmons. Many of which were concerning the Doctrine, and Geremonies of this Church: Insomuch that, as St. Paul withstood St. Peter to his face, so did they withstand each other in their Setmons; for, as one hath pleasantly express it, The Forenoon Setmon spake Canterbury, and the Aftenson, Geneva.

In these Sermons there was little of bitterness, but each party brought all the Reasons he was able to prove his Adversaries Opinion erroneous. And thus it continued a long time, till the Oppositions became so visible, and the Consequences so dangerous, especially in that place, that the prudent Archbishop put a stop to Mr. Travers his Preaching by a positive Prohibition: Against which Mr. Travers Appeal'd and Petition'd Her Majesties Privy Council to have it recalled: where besides his Patron the Earl of Leicester, he met also with many assisting Friends; but they were not able to prevail with, or against the Arch-bishop, whom the Queen had intrusted with all Churchpower; and, he had received so fair a Testimony of Mr. Hookers Principles, and of his Learning and Moderation, that he withstood all Sollicitations. - But the denvine this Petition of Mr. Travers was unpleasant to divers of his Party; and the Reasonableness of it became at last to be so publickly magnified by them and many others of that party, as never to be answered; so that intending the Bishops and Mr. Hookers disgrace, they procured it to be privately printed, and scattered abroad: and then Mr. Hooker was forced to appear and make as publick an answer: which he did, and Dedicated it to the Archbishop; and it proved so full an Answer, an answer that had in it so much of clear Reason, and writ with so much Meekness and Majesty of Style, that the Bishop began to have him in admiration, and to rejoice that he had appeared in his Cause, and disdained not earnestly to beg his Friendship, even a familiar Friendship, with a man of so much quiet Learning and Humility.

To enumerate the many particular points, in which Mr. Hooker and

Mr. Travers dissented, (all or most of which, I have seen written) would prove at least tedious; and therefore, I shall impose upon my Reader no more then two, which shall immediately follow, and by which he may judge of the rest.

Mr. Travers excepted against Mr. Hooker, for that in one of his Sermons he declared, That the assurance of what we believe by the Word of God, is not to us so certain as that whith we perceive by sense. And Mr. Hooker confesseth he said so; and endeavours to justific it by the Reasons following.

First, I taught, That the things which God promises in his Word are surer than what we touch, handle, or see; but are we so sure and certain of them? if we be, why doth God so often prove his Promises to us, as be doth, by Arguments drawn from our sensible Experience? For we must be surer of the Proof than of the things Proved; otherwise it is no Proof. For Example: How is it that many men looking on the Moon at the same time, every one knownebt it to be the Moon, as certainly as the other doth: but many believing one and the same Promise, bave not all one and the same Fulness of Perswasion? For how falleth it out, that men being assured of any thing by Sense, can be no surer of it than they are; when as the strongest in Faith that liveth upon the Earth, bath always need to labour, strive and pray, that bis Assurance concerning Heavenly and Spiritual things may grow, increase, and be augmented?

The Sermon that gave him the cause of this his Justification makes the Case more plain, by declaring that there is besides this Certainty of Evidence, a Certainty of Adberence: in which having most excellently demonstrated what the Certainty of Adberence is, he makes this comfortable use of it, Comfortable (he says) as to weak Believers, who suppose themselves to be faithless, not to believe, when notwithstanding they have their Adherence; the Holy Spirit bath bis private operations, and worketh secretly in them, and effectually too, though they want the inward Testimony of it.

Tell this, saith he, to a man that hath a mind too much dejected by a sad sense of his sin; to one that by a too severe judging of himself, concludes that he wants Faith, because he wants the comfortable Assurance of it; and his Answer will be, Do not persuade me against my knowledge, against what I find and feel in my self; I do not, I know, I

do not believe. (Mr. Hookers own words follow) Well then, to favour such men a little in their weekness, Let that be granted which they do imagine; be it that they adheren to Gods Promises, but are faithless and without belief; but are they not grieved for their unbelief; they confess they are; do they not wish it might, and also strive that it may be otherways? we know they do; whence cometh this, but from a secret Love and Liking that they have of those things believed? For, no man can love those things which in his own opinion are not; and, if they think those things to be, which they shew they love when they desire to believe them; then must it be, that by desiring to believe, they prove themselves true believers; For, without Faith no man thinketh that things believed are: which argument all the Subtilities of infernal powers will never be able to dissolve. This is an abridgment of part of the Reasons Mr. Hooker gives for his Justification of this his Opinion for which he was excepted against by Mr. Travers.

Mr. Hooker was also accused by Mr. Travers, for that he in one of his Sermons had declared, that he doubted not but that God was mereiful to many of our fore-fathers living in Popith Superstition, for as much as they Sinned ignorantly: and Mr. Hooker in his answer professeth it to be his Judgment, and declares his Reasons for this Charitable opinion to be as followeth.

But first, he states the question about Justification and Works, and how the Foundation of Faith without works is overthrown; and then he proceeds to discover that way which Natural men and some others have mistaken to be the way by which they hope to attain true and everlasting happiness; and having discovered the mistaken, he proceeds to direct to that True way, by which, and no other, everlasting life and blessedness is attainable; and, these two ways he demonstrates thus: (they be his own words that follow) 'That, the way of Nature, This, the way of 'Grace; the end of that way, Salvation merited, presupposing the rightcounters of mens works; their Rightcounters, a Natural ability to do them, that ability, the goodness of God which created them in such perfection. But, the end of this way, Salvation bestowed upon men as a gift: presupposing not their right ecusness, but the forgiveness of their Unrighteouness, Justification, their 'Justification, not their Natural ability to do good, but their bearty Sorrow for 'not doing, and unfeigned belief in him for whose sake not doers are accepted,' and unfeigned belief in him for whose sake not doers are accepted.

'which is their vocation; their Vocation, the Election of God, taking them out of the number of lost Children; their Election a Mediator in whom to be 'elected; this mediation inexplicable mercy; this mercy, supposing their misery for whom he vouchrafed to dye, and make himself a Mediator.

And he also declareth, There is no meritorious cause for our Justification but Christ; no effectual but his Mercy; and says also, We deny the Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, we abuse, disanul, and annihilate the benefit of his Passion, if by a proud imagination we believe we can merit everlasting life, or can be worthy of it. This belief (he declareth) is to destroy the very essence of our Justification: and he makes all opinions that border upon this, to be very dangerous. Yet nevertheless (and for this he was accused) *Considering how many vertuous and just men, how many Saints and Martyrs bave had their dangerous opinions, amongst which this was one, that they boped 'to make God some part of amends by voluntary punishments which they laid 'upon themselves; because by this or the like erroneous opinions which 'do by consequence overthrow the merits of Christ, shall man be so 'bold as to write on their Graves, such men are damned, there is for them 'no Salvation? St. Austin says, errare possum, Hæreticus esse nolo. And 'except we put a difference betwixt them that err Ignorantly, and them that Obstinately persist in it, how is it possible that any man should 'hope to be saved? give me a Pope or a Cardinal, whom great afflic-'tions have made to know himself, whose heart God hath touched 'with true sorrow for all his sins, and filled with a Love of Christ and 'his Gospel, whose eyes are willingly open to see the truth, and his 'mouth ready to renounce all errour, this one opinion of merit ex-'cepted, which he thinketh God will require at his hands, and because 'he wanteth, trembleth, and is discouraged, and yet can say, Lord 'cleanse me from all my secret sins, shall I think because of this or a like 'errour such men touch not so much as the Hem of Christs Garment; 'if they do, wherefore should I doubt but that vertue may proceed 'from Christ to save them? no, I will not be afraid to say to such a one, you err in your opinion: but be of good comfort, you have to do with a merciful God who will make the best of that little which you hold well; and, not with a captious Sophister, who gathereth the worst out of every thing in wbich you are mistaken.

But it will be said (says Mr. Hooker) The admittance of Merit in any degree, overthroweth the foundation, excludeth from the hope of mercy, from all possibility of Salvation. (And now Mr. Hookers own words follow)

'What, though they hold the truth sincerely in all other parts of 'Christian Faith; although they have in some measure all the Vertues 'and Graces of the Spirit: although they have all other tokens of Gods 'Children in them: although they be far from having any proud 'opinion that they shall be saved by the worthiness of their deeds; although the only thing that troubleth and molesteth them be a little 'too much dejection, somewhat too great a fear arising from an errone-'ous conceit, that God will require a worthiness in them, which they 'are grieved to find wanting in themselves? although they be not ob-'stinate in this opinion? although they be willing and would be glad 'to forsake it, if any one reason were brought sufficient to disprove it? 'although the only cause why they do not forsake it ere they dye, be 'their Ignorance of that means by which it might be disprov'd? although the cause why the Ignorance in this point is not removed, be the want of knowledge in such as should be able, and are not to 'remove it; Let me dye (says Mr. Hooker) if it be ever proved, that simply an Errour doth exclude a Pope or Cardinal in such a case utterly from hope of life. 'Surely I must confess, that if it be an Error to think that God 'may be merciful to save men even when they err; my greatest comfort 'is my error: were it not for the love I bear to this error: I would never 'wish to speak or to live.

I was willing to take notice of these two points, as supposing them to be very material; and that as they are thus contracted, they may prove useful to my Reader; as also, for that the Answers be arguments of Mr. Hookers great and clear Reason, and equal Charity. Other exceptions were also made against him by Mr. Travers, as, That he prayed before and not after his Sermons; that in his Prayers he named Bishops; that he kneeled both when he prayed and when he received the Sacrament, and (says Mr. Hooker in his defence) other exceptions so like these, as but to name. I should have thought a greater fault then to commit them.

And 'tis not unworthy the noting, that in the manage of so great a controversie, a sharper reproof than this, and one like it, did never fall

from the happy pen of this Humble man. That like it was upon a like occasion of exceptions, to which his answer was, Vour next argument consists of railing and of reasons; to your Railing, I say nothing, to your Reasons, I say what follows. And I am glad of this fair occasion, to testifie the Dove-like temper of this meek, this matchless man; and doubtless, if Almighty God had blest the Dissenters from the Ceremonies and Discipline of this Church, with a like measure of Wisdom and Humility, instead of their pertinacious zeal: then Obedience and Truth had kissed each other; then Peace and Piety had flourished in our Nation, and this Church and State had been blest like Jerusalem that is at unity with t self; but this can never be expected, till God shall bless the common people of this Nation with a belief that Schism is a Sin; and they not fit to judge what is Schism: and bless them also with a belief, That there may be offences taken which are not given; and, That Laws are not made for private men to dispute, but to Obev.

And this also may be worthy of noting, That these Exceptions of Mr. Trauers against Mr. Hooker, prov'd to be Felix error, for they were the cause of his Transcribing those few of his Sermons, which we now see printed with his Books, and of his Answer to Mr. Trauers, his Supplication, and of his most learned and useful discourse of Justification of Faith and Works; and by their Transcription they fell into such hands as have preserved them from being lost, as too many of his other matchless writings were; and from these I have gathered many observations in this Discourse of his Life.

After the publication of his Answer to the Petition of Mr. Travers, Mr. Hooker grew daily into greater repute with the most learned and wise of the Nation; but it had a contrary effect in very many of the Temple that were zealous for Mr. Travers and for his Church Discipline: insomuch, that though Mr. Travers left the place, yet the seeds of Discontent could not be rooted out of that Society, by the great Reason, and as great Meekness of this humble man: for though the chief Benchers gave him much Reverence and Incouragement, yet he there met with many neglects and oppositions by those of Master Travers Judgment; in so much, that it turned to his extream grief: and that he might unbeguile and win them, he designed to write

a deliberate sober Treatise of the Churches power to make Canons for the use of Ceremonies, and by Law to impose an obedience to them, as upon her Children; and this he proposed to do in eight Books of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity; intending therein to show such Arguments as should force an assent from all men, if Reason, delivered in sweet Language, and void of any provocation, were able to do it: And that he might prevent all prejudice, he wrote before it a large Preface or Epistle to the Dissenting Brethren, wherein there were such Bowels of Love, and such a Commixture of that Love with Reason, as was never exceeded but in Holy Writ, and particularly by that of St. Paul to his dear Brother and fellow Labourer Philemon: than which, none ever was more like this Epistle of Mr. Hookers; so that his dear friend and Companion in his Studies Doctor Spenser, might after his death justly say, What admirable height of Learning and depth of Judgment dwelt in the lowly mind of this truly humble man, great in all wise mens eyes except his own; with what gravity and Majesty of speech his Tonque and Pen uttered Heavenly Mysteries; whose eyes in the Humility of his Heart were always cast down to the ground; how all things that proceeded from him were breathed as from the Spirit of Love, as if be, like the Bird of the Holy Ghost, the Dove, had wanted Gall; let those that knew him not in his Person, judge by these living Images of his soul, his Writings.

The foundation of these Books was laid in the Temple; but he found it no fit place to finish what he had there designed; and he therefore earnestly solicited the Arch-bishop for a remove from that place, to whom he spake to this purpose. My Lord, When I lost the freedom of my Cell, which was my Colledge, yet I found some degree of it in my quiet Country Parsonage: but I am weary of the noise and oppositions of this place; and indeed, God and Nature did not intend me for Contentions, but for Study and quietness: My Lord, My particular contests with Mr. Travers here have proved the more unpleasant to me, because I believe him to be a good man; and, that belief bath occasioned me to examine mine oum Conscience concerning his Opinions: and, to satisfie that, I have consulted the Scripture, and other Laws both Humane and Disine, whether the Conscience of him and others of his judgment ought to be so far complyed with as to alter our frame of Church Government, our manner of Gods Worship, our Praising and Praying to him.

and, our established Ceremonies as often as his and others tender Consciences shall require us; and, in this examination, I have not only satisfied my self, but have begun a treatise, in which I intend a Justification of the Laws of our Ecclesiastical Polity: in which design God and his holy Angels shall at the last great day bear me that witness which my Conscience now does; that my meaning is not to provoke any, but rather to satisfie all tender Consciences, and I shall never be able to do this, but where I may Study, and pray for Gods blessing upon my indeavours, and keep my self in Peace and Privacy, and behold Gods blessing spring out of my Mother Earth, and cat my own bread without oppositions; and therefore, if your Grace can Judge me worthy of such a favour, let me beg it, that I may perfect what I have begun.

About this time the Parsonage or Rectory of Boscum, in the Diocess of Sarum, and six miles from that City, became void. The Bishop of Sarum is Patron of it; but in the vacancy of that See (which was three years betwixt the Translation of Bishop Peirce to the See of York, and Bishop Caldwells admission into it) the disposal of that and all Benefices belonging to that See, during this said vacancy, came to be disposed of by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and he presented Richard Hooker to it, in the year 1591. And Richard Hooker was also in the said year Instituted, July 17. to be a minor Prebend of Salisbury, the Corps to it being Nether-Havin, about ten miles from that City: which Prebend was of no great value, but intended chiefly to make him capable of a better preferment in that Church. In this Boscum he continued till he had finished four of his eight proposed Books of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, and these were entered into the register Book in Stationers Hall, the 9th of March 1592. but not published till the year 1594, and then were with the before mentioned large and affectionate Preface, which he directs to them that seek (as they term it) the Reformation of the Laws and Orders Ecclesiastical in the Church of England; of which Books I shall yet say nothing more, but that he continued his laborious diligence to finish the remaining four during his life (of all which more properly hereafter) but at Boscum he finisht and publisht but only the first four; being then in the 39th year of his Age.

He left Boscum in the year 1595. by a surrender of it into the hands

of Bishop Caldwell, and he presented Benjamin Russel, who was Instituted into it the 23 of June in the same year.

The Parsonage of Bishops Borne in Kent, three miles from Canterbury, is in that Archbishops gift; but, in the latter end of the year 1594. Doctor William Redman the Rector of it was made Bishop of Norwich, by which means the power of presenting to it was pro ea vice in the Queen; and she presented Richard Hooker, whom she loved well, to this good living of Borne the 7th of July 1595, in which living he continued till his Death, without any addition of Dignity or Profit.

And now having brought our Richard Hooker, from his Birth-place to this where he found a Grave, I shall only give some account of his Books, and of his behaviour in this Parsonage of Borne, and then give a rest both to my self and my Reader.

Hisfirst four Books and large Epistle have been declared to be printed at his being at Bostum, Anno 1594. Next I am to tell that at the end of these four Books, there was when hefirst printed them this Advertisement to the Reader.—"I have for some causes thought it at this time 'morefit to let go these first four Books by themselves, than to stay both 'them and the rest, till the whole might together be published. Such 'generalities of the cause in question as are here handled, it will be 'perhaps not amiss to consider apart, by way of Introduction unto the Books that are to follow concerning particulars; in the mean time 'the Reader is requested to mend the Printers errours, as noted underraeath.

And I am next to declare, that his fifth Book (which is larger than his first four) was first also printed by it self Anno 1597, and dedicated to his Patron (for till then he chose none) the Archbishop. These Books were read with an admiration of their excellency in This, and their just fame spread it self also into foreign Nations. And I have been told more than forty years past, that either Cardinal Allen, or learned Doctor Stapleton (both English men, and in Italy about the time when Hookers four Books were first printed:) meeting with this general fame of them, were desirous to read an Author that both the Reformed and the learned of their own Romisb Church did so much magnifie, and therefore caused them to be sent for to Rome: and after

reading them, boasted to the Pope (which then was Clement the eighth) that though he had lately said he never met with an English Book whose Writer deserved the name of Author; yet there now appear'd a wonder to them, and it would be so to his Holiness, if it were in Latin, for a poor obscure English Priest had writ four such Books of Laws, and Church Polity, and in a Style that exprest such a Grave, and so Humble Maiesty, with such clear demonstration of Reason, that in all their readings they bad not met with any that exceeded him; and this begot in the Pope an earnest desire that Doctor Stapleton should bring the said four Books, and looking on the English read a part of them to him in Latin; which Doctor Stapleton did, to the end of the first Book; at the conclusion of which, the Pope spake to this purpose; There is no Learning that this man bath not searcht into; nothing too bard for his understanding; this man indeed deserves the name of an Author; his Books will get reverence by Age. for there is in them such seeds of Eternity, that if the rest be like this, they shall last till the last fire shall consume all Learning.

Nor was this high, the only testimony and commendations given to his Books; for at the first coming of King James into this Kingdom, he inquired of the Archbishop Whitgift for his friend Mr. Hooker that writ the Books of Church Polity; to which the answer was, that he dyed a year before Queen Elizabeth, who received the sad news of his Death with very much Sorrow; to which the King replied, and I receive it with no less, that I shall want the desired happiness of seeing and discoursing with that man, from whose Books I have received such satisfaction; Indeed, my Lord, I have received more satisfaction in reading a leaf, or paragraph in Mr. Hooker, though it were but about the fashion of Churches, or Church musick, or the like, but especially of the Sacraments, than I have had in the reading particular large Treatises written but of one of those Subjects by others, though very learned men; and, I observe there is in Mr. Hooker no affected language, but a grave, comprehensive, clear manifestation of Reason, and that back't with the Authority of the Scripture, the Fathers and Schoolmen, and with all Law both Sacred and Civil. And, though many others write well, yet in the next Age they will be forgotten; but doubtless there is in every page of Mr. Hookers Book the picture of a Divine Soul. such Pictures of Truth and Reason, and drawn in so sacred Colours, that

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they shall never fade, but give an immortal memory to the Author. And it is so truly true, that the King thought what he spake, that as the most learned of the Nation have and still do mention Mr. Hooker with reverence, so he also did never mention him but with the Epithite of Learned, or Judicious, or Reverend, or Venerable Mr. Hooker.

Nor did his Son, our late King Charles the First, ever mention him but with the same reverence, enjoining his Son, our now gracious King, to be studious in Mr. Hookers Books. And our learned Antiquary Mr. Cambden1 mentioning the death, the modesty, and other vertues of Mr. Hooker, and magnifying his Books, wish't, That for the honour of this, and benefit of other Nations, they were turn'd into the Vniversal Language. Which work, though undertaken by many, yet they have been weary, and forsaken it; but the Reader may now expect it, having been long since begun, and lately finisht, by the happy Pen of Dr. Earl, now Lord Bishop of Salisbury, of whom I may justly say (and let it not offend him, because it is such a truth as ought not to be conceal'd from Posterity, or those that now live, and yet know him not) that since Mr. Hooker dved, none have liv'd whom God hath blest with more innocent Wisdom, more sanctified Learning, or a more pious, peaceable, primitive temper: so that this excellent person seems to be only like himself, and our Venerable Richard Hooker; and only fit to make the learned of all Nations happy, in knowing what hath been too long confin'd to the language of our little Island.

There might be many more and just occasions taken to speak of his Books, which none ever did, or can commend too much, but I decline them, and hasten to an account of his Christian behaviour and death at Borne: in which place he continued his customary Rules of Mortification and Self-denial; was much in Fasting, frequent in Meditation and Prayers, enjoying those blessed returns, which only men of strict lives feel and know, and of which men of loose and godless lives, cannot be made sensible; for spiritual things are spiritually discerned.

At his entrance into this place, his friendship was much sought for

by Dr. Hadrian Saravia, then or about that time made one of the Prebends of Canterbury; a German by Birth, and sometimes a Pastor both in Flanders and Holland, where he had studied and well considered the controverted points concerning Episcopacy and Sacriledge; and in England had a just occasion to declare his judgment concerning both, unto his Brethren Ministers of the Low Countreys; which was excepted against by Theodor Beza, and others; against whose exceptions, he rejoined, and thereby became the happy Author of many learned Tracts, writ in Latin; especially of three; one, of the Degrees of Ministers, and of the Bishops superiority above the Presbytery; a second against Sacriledge; and, a third of Christian Obedience to Princes; the last being occasioned by Gretzerus the Jesuite. And it is observable, that when in a time of Church-tumults, Beza gave his reasons to the Chancellor of Scotland for the abrogation of Episcopacy in that Nation, partly by Letters, and more fully in a Treatise of a threefold Episcopacy (which he calls Divine, Humane, and Satanical) this Dr. Saravia had by the help of Bishop Whitgift made such an early discovery of their intentions, that he had almost as soon answered that Treatise as it became publick; and he therein discovered how Beza's opinion did contradict that of Calvins, and his adherents, leaving them to interfere with themselves in point of Episcopacy; but of these Tracts it will not concern me to say more, than that they were most of them dedicated to his and the Church of Englands watchful Patron John Whitgift the Archbishop, and printed about the time in which Mr. Hooker also appeared first to the World in the publication of his first four Books of Ecclesiastical Polity.

This friendship being sought for by this learned Doctor, you may believe was not denied by Mr. Hooker, who was by fortune so like him, as to be engaged against Mr. Travers, Mr. Craturight, and others of their judgment, in a Controversie too like Dr. Saravie's; so that in this year of 1595, and in this place of Borne, these two excellent persons began a holy friendship, increasing daily to so high and mutual affections, that their two wills seemed to be but one and the same: and their designs both for the glory of God, and peace of the Church, still assisting and improving each others vertues, and the desired comforts

of a peaceable piety. Which I have willingly mentioned, because it gives a foundation to some things that follow.

This Parsonage of Borne is from Canterbury three miles, and near to the common Road that leads from that City to Dover: in which Parsonage Mr. Hooker had not been Twelve months, but his Books, and the innocency and sanctity of his life became so remarkable, that many turn'd out of the Road, and others (Scholars especially) went purposely to see the man, whose life and learning were so much admired; and alas, as our Saviour said of St. John Baptist, What went they out to see? a man cloathed in purple and fine linnen? no indeed, but an obscure, barmless man, a man in poor Cloaths, his Loyns usually girt in a course Gown, or Canonical Coat; of a mean stature, and stooping, and yet more lowly in the thoughts of his Soul; his Body worn out, not with Age, but Study, and Holy Mortifications; bis Face full of Heat-pimples, begot by his unactivity and sedentary life. And to this true character of his person. let me add this of his disposition and behaviour; God and Nature blest him with so blessed a bashfulness, that as in his younger days his Pupils might easily look him out of countenance; so neither then, nor in his age, did be ever willingly look any man in the face; and was of so mild and humble a nature, that his poor Parish Clerk and he did never talk but with both their Hats on, or both off, at the same time: And to this may be added, that though he was not pur-blind, yet he was short or weak-sighted; and where he fixt his eyes at the beginning of his Sermon, there they continued till it was ended; and the Reader has a liberty to believe. that his modesty and dim sight, were some of the reasons why he trusted Mrs. Churchman to choose his Wife.

This Parish-Clerk lived till the third or fourth year of the late Long Parliament: betwixt which time and Mr. Hookers death, there had come many to see the place of his Burial, and the Monument dedicated to his memory by Sir William Cooper (who still lives) and the poor Clerk had many rewards for shewing Mr. Hookers Grave-place, and his said Monument, and did always hear Mr. Hooker mentioned with commendations and reverence: to all which, he added his own knowledge and observations of his humility and holiness; and in all which Discourses, the poor man was still more confirm!

in his opinion of Mr. Hookers vertues and learning; but it so fell out, that about the said third or fourth year of the Long Parliament, the then present Parson of Borne was Sequestred (you may guess why) and a Genevian Minister put into his good Living; this, and other like Sequestrations, made the Clerk express himself in a wonder, and say, They had Sequestred so many good men, that he doubted if his good Master Mr. Hooket had lived till now, they would have Sequestred him too.

It was not long, before this intruding Minister had made a Party in and about the said Parish, that were desirous to receive the Sactament as in Geneva; to which end, the day was appointed for a select Company, and Forms and Stools set about the Altar or Communion-Table, for them to sit and eat, and drink; but when they went about this work, there was a want of some Joint-stools, which the Minister sent the Clerk to fetch, and then to fetch Cushions (but not to kneel upon); when the Clerk saw them begin to sit down, he began to wonder; but the Minister bad him cease wondring, and lock the Church-door; to whom he replied, Pray take you the Keys, and lock me out, I will never come more into this Church; for all men will say, my Master Hooker was a good Man, and a good Scholar, and I am sure it was not used to be thus in his days. And, report says, the old man went presently home, and died; I do not say died immediately, but within a few days after.

But let us leave this grateful Clerk in his quiet Grave, and return to Mr. Hooker himself, continuing our observations of his Christian behaviour in this place, where he gave a holy Valediction to all the pleasures and allurements of Earth, possessing his Soul in a vertuous quietness, which he maintained by constant Study, Prayers, and Meditations; his use was to preach once every Sunday, and he or his Curate to Catechise after the second Lesson in the Evening Prayer, his Sermons were neither long nor earnest, but uttered with a grave zeal, and an humble voice; his eyes alwaysfixt on one place to prevent his imagination from wandring, insomuch, that he seem'd to study as he spake; the design of his Sermons (as indeed of all his Discourses) was to shew Reasons for what he spake; and with these Reasons, such a kind of Rhetorick, as did rather convince and perswade, than frighten men into piety; studying not so much for matter (which he

never wanted) as for apt illustrations to inform and teach his unlearned Hearers by familiar Examples, and then make them better by convincing Applications; never labouring by hard words, and then by needless distinctions and sub-distinctions, to amuse his Hearers, and get glory to himself; but glory only to God. Which intention, he would often say, was as discernable in a Preacher, as a Natural from an Artificial beauty.

He never failed the Sunday before every Ember-week, to give notice of it to his Parishioners, perswading them both to fast, and then to double their devotions for a learned and pious Clergy: but especially the last, saying often, That the Life of a pious Clergy-man was visible Rhetorick, and so convincing, that the most Godless men, (though they would not dary themselves the enjoyment of their present lusts) did yet secretly wish themselves like those of the strictest lives: And to what he perswaded others, he added his own example of Fasting and Prayer; and did usually every Ember-week, take from the Parish-Clerk the Key of the Church-door; into which place he retir'd every day, and lock thimself up for many hours; and did the like most Fridays, and other days of Fasting.

He would by no means omit the customary time of Procession, perswading all both rich and poor, if they desired the preservation of Love, and their Parish Rights and Liberties, to accompany him in his Perambulation, and most did so; in which Perambulation, he would usually express more pleasant Discourse than at other times, and would then always drop some loving and facetious observations to be remembred against the next year, especially by the boys and young people; still inclining them and all his present Parishioners, to meckness, and mutual kindnesses, and love; because Love thinks not exil, but corest a multitude of Infernities.

He was diligent to inquire who of his Parish were sick, or any ways distrest, and would often visit them, unsent for; supposing, that the fittest time to discover to them those Errors to which health and prosperity had blinded them; and having by pious reasons and prayers, moulded them into holy resolutions for the time to come, he would incline them to confession, and bewailing their sins, with purpose to

forsake them, and then to receive the Communion, both as a strengthning of those holy resolutions, and as a seal betwixt God and them of his Mercies to their Souls, in case that present sickness did put a period to their lives.

And as he was thus watchful and charitable to the sick, so he was as diligent to prevent Law-suits, still urging his Parishioners and Neighbours, to bear with each others infirmities, and live in love, because (as St. John says) be that lives in love, lives in God, for God is love. And to maintain this holy fire of love constantly burning on the Altar of a pure heart, his advice was to watch and pray, and always keep themselves fit to receive the Communion; and then to receive it often, for it was both a confirming and strengthning of their graces; this was his advice: And at his entrance or departure out of any house, he would usually speak to the whole Family, and bless them by name; insomuch, that as he seem'd in his youth to be taught of God, so he seem'd in this place to teach his precepts, as Enoch did by walking with him, in all holiness and humility, making each day a step towards a blessed Eternity. And though in this weak and declining Age of the World, such Examples are become barren, and almost incredible, yet let his memory be blest with this true Recordation, because he that praises Richard Hooker, praises God, who hath given such gifts to men; and let this humble and affectionate Relation of him, become such a pattern, as may invite Posterity to imitate these his vertues.

This was his constant behaviour both at Borne and in all the places in which he lived: thus did he walk with God, and tread the foot-steps of primitive piety; and yet, as that great example of meekness and purity, even our blessed Jesus, was not free from false accusations, no more was this Disciple of his, this most humble, most innocent, holy man; his was a slander parallel to that of chaste Susumub's by the wicked Elders, or that against St. Athonesius, as it is recorded in his life, (for that holy man had heretical enemies) a slander which this Age calls Trepanning; the particulars need not a repetition; and that it was false, needs no other Testimony than the publick punishment of his Accusers, and their open confession of his Innocency.

'twas said that the accusation was contrived by a dissenting Brother. one that endur'd not Church-Ceremonies, hating him for his Books sake, which he was not able to answer; and his name hath been told me, but I have not so much confidence in the relation, as to make my Pen fix a scandal on him to posterity; I shall rather leave it doubtful till the great day of Revelation: But this is certain, that he lay under the great charge, and the anxiety of this accusation, and kept it secret to himself for many months; and being a helpless man, had lain longer under this heavy burthen, but that the protector of the innocent gave such an accidental occasion as forced him to make it known to his two dearest friends, Edwin Sandys, and George Cranmer; who were so sensible of their Tutors sufferings, that they gave themselves no rest, till by their disquisitions and diligence they had found out the fraud, and brought him the welcom News, that his Accusers did confess they had wrong'd him, and beg'd his pardon: To which, the good mans reply was to this purpose, The Lord forgive them, and the Lord bless you for this comfortable News: Now I have a just occasion to say with Solomon, Friends are born for the days of adversity, and such you have prov'd to me; and to my God I say, as did the mother of St. John Baptist, Thus bath the Lord dealt with me, in the day wherein he looked upon me, to take away my reproach among men. And, oh my God! neither my life, nor my reputation are safe in mine own keeping, but in thine, who didst take care of me, when I yet hanged upon my mothers breast; blessed are they, that put their trust in Thee O Lord; for when false witnesses were risen up against me; when shame was ready to cover my face, when my nights were restless, when my Soul thirsted for a deliverance, as the Hart panteth after the rivers of waters, then thou Lord didst bear my complaints, pity my condition, and art now become my deliverer; and as long as I live I will hold up my bands in this manner, and magnific thy mercies, who didst not give me over as a prey to mine enemies, the net is broken and they are taken in it. Oh blessed are they that put their trust in thee; and no prosperity shall make me forget those days of sorrow; or to perform those vows that I have made to thee in the days of my affliction; for with such Sacrifices, thou, O God, art well pleased, and I will pay them.

Thus did the joy and gratitude of this good mans heart break forth.

And 'tis observable, that as the invitation to this slander was his meek behaviour and Dove-like simplicity, for which he was remarkable; so his Christian charity ought to be imitated: for, though the spirit of revence is so pleasing to Mankind, that it is never conquered but by a supernatural grace, revenge being indeed so deeply rooted in Humane Nature, that to prevent the excesses of it (for men would not know Moderation) Almighty God allows not any degree of it to any man, but says, Vengeance is mine: And, though this be said positively by God himself, yet this revenge is so pleasing, that man is hardly perswaded to submit the menage of it to the Time, and Justice, and Wisdom of his Creator, but would hasten to be his own Executioner of it; And yet nevertheless, if any man ever did wholly decline, and leave this pleasing passion to the time and measure of God alone, it was this Richard Hooker of whom I write; for when his Slanderers were to suffer, he laboured to procure their pardon; and when that was denied him, his Reply was, That however he would fast and pray, that God would give them repentance, and patience to undergo their punishment. And his prayers were so far returned into his own bosom, that the first was granted, if we may believe a penitent behaviour, and an open confession. And 'tis observable, that after this time he would often say to Doctor Saravia, Oh with what quietness did I enjoy my Soul after I was free from the fears of my Slander! and how much more after a conflict and victory over my desires of Revenge!

About the Year 1600, and of his Age 46, he fell into a long and sharp sickness, occasioned by a cold taken in his passage by water betwixt London and Gravesend; from the malignity of which he was never recovered; for after that time till his death he was not free from thoughtful Days, and restless Nights; but a submission to his Will that makes the sick mans Bed easie by giving rest to his Soul, made his very languishment comfortable: and yet all this time he was sollicitous in his Study, and said offen to Dr. Saravia (who saw him daily, and was the chief comfort of his life) That be did not beg a long life of God, for any other reason, but to live to finush bits three remaining Books of POLITY; and then, Lord, let thy servant depart in peace, which was his usual expression. And God heard his prayers, though he denied

the Church the benefit of them, as compleated by himself; and 'tis thought he hastened his own death, by hastening to give life to his Books: But this is certain, that the nearer he was to his death, the more he grew in Humility, in Holy Thoughts and Resolutions.

About a month before his death, this good man, that never knew, or at least never consider'd, the pleasures of the Palate, became first to lose his appetite, and then, to have an aversness to all food; insomuch, that he seem'd to live some intermitted weeks by the smell of meat only, and yet still studied and writ. And now his guardian Angel seem'd to foretell him, that the day of his dissolution drew near; for which his vigorous Soul appear'd to thirst. In this time of his sickness, and not many days before his death, his House was rob'd; of which he having notice, his Question was, Are my Books and written Papers safe? And being answered, That they were; his Reply was, then it matters not; for no other loss can trouble me.

About one day before his Death, Dr. Saravia, who knew the very secrets of his Soul, (for they were supposed to be Confessors to each other) came to him, and after a Conference of the Benefit, the Necessity, and Safety of the Churches Absolution, it was resolved the Doctor should give him both that and the Sacrament the day follows ing. To which end, the Doctor came, and after a short retirement and privacy, they two return'd to the company, and then the Doctor gave him, and some of those friends which were with him, the blessed Sacrament of the body and blood of our Jesus. Which being performed, the Doctor thought he saw a reverend gaity and joy in his face; but it lasted not long: for his bodily Infirmities did return suddenly. and became more visible, in so much that the Doctor apprehended death ready to seize him; yet, after some amendment, left him at Night. with a promise to return early the day following, which he did, and then found him better in appearance, deep in Contemplation, and not inclinable to Discourse; which gave the Doctor occasion to require his present Thoughts? to which he replied, That he was meditating the number and nature of Angels, and their blessed obedience and order, without which peace could not be in Heaven; and oh that it might be so on Earth! After which words he said, I have lived to see this world is made up of perturbage

tions, and I have been long preparing to leave it, and gathering comfort for the dreadful hour of making my account with God, which I now apprehend to be near; and though I have by his grace lov'd him in my youth, and fear'd him in mine age, and labour'd to have a conscience void of offence to him, and to all men; yet, if thou, O Lord, be extream to mark what I have done amiss, who can abide it? and therefore, where I have failed, Lord shew mercy to me for I plead not my righteousness, but the forgiveness of my unrighteousness, for his merits who died to purchase pardon for penitent sinners; and since I owe thee a death, Lord let it not be terrible, and then take thine own time, I submit to it; let not mine, O Lord, but let thy Will be done; with which expression he fell into a dangerous slumber; dangerous, as to his recovery; yet recover he did, but it was to speak only these few words, Good Doctor, God hath heard my daily petitions, for I am at peace with all men, and he is at peace with me; and from that blessed assurance I feel that inward joy, which this world can neither give nor take from me: my Conscience beareth me this witness, and this witness makes the thoughts of death joyful. I could wish to live to do the Church more service, but cannot hope it, for my dayes are past as a shadow that returns not: More he would have spoken, but his spirits failed him; and after a short conflict betwixt Nature and Death, a quiet Sigh put a period to his last breath, and so he fell asleep. And now he seems to rest like Lazarus in Abrahams bosom; let me here draw his Curtain, till with the most glorious company of the Patriarchs and Apostles, the most Noble Army of Martyrs and Confessors, this most learned, most humble, holy man, shall also awake to receive an eternal Tranquillity: and with it, a greater degree of Glory than common Christians shall be made partakers of.

In the mean time, bless O Lord! Lord bless bis Brethren, the Clergy of this Nation, with offectual endeavours to attain, if not to his great learning, yet to his remarkable meckness, his godly simplicity, and his Christian moderation; for these will bring peace at the last: And, Lord! let his most excellent Writings be blest with what he design d, when he undertook them: which was, Glory to Thee O God on High, Peace in thy Church, and Good Will to Mankind. Amen, Amen.

Izaak Walton

This following Epitaph was long since presented to the World, in memory of Mr. Hooker, by Sir William Cooper, who also built him a fair Monument in Borne Church, and acknowledges him to have been his Spiritual Father.

> Though nothing can be spoke worthy his fame. Or the remembrance of that precious name, Indicious Hooker; though this cost be spent On him, that bath a lasting Monument In his own Books, yet ought we to express, If not bis Worth, yet our Respectfulness. Church-Ceremonies be maintain'd, then why Without all Ceremony should be dye? Was it because his Life and Death should be Both equal patterns of Humility? Or that perhaps this only glorious one Was above all to ask, why had be none? Yet be that lay so long obscurely low. Doth now preferr'd to greater Honours go. Ambitious men, learn hence to be more wise, Humility is the true way to rise: And God in me this Lesson did inspire, To bid this bumble man, Friend sit up higher.

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AN APPENDIX to the Life of Mr. Richard Hooker

And now having by a long and laborious search satisfied my self, and I hope my Reader, by imparting to him the true Relation of Mr. Hookers Life: I am desirous also, to acquaint him with some Observations that relate to it, and which could not properly fall to be spoken till after his death, of which my Reader may expect a brief and true

account in the following Appendix.

And first it is not to be doubted, but that he died in the Fortyseventh, if not in the Forty-sixth year of his Age; which I mention,
because many have believed him to be more aged; but I have so
examined it, as to be confident I mistake not; and for the year of his
death, Mr. Cambden, who in his Annals of Queen Elizabeth 1599,
mentions him with a high commendation of his Life and Learning,
declares him to dye in the year 1599, and yet in that Inscription of his
Monument set up at the charge of Sir William Cooper in Borne Church,
where Mr. Hooker was buried: his death is there said to be in Anno
1603, but doubtless both mistaken; for I have it attested under the
hand of William Somer the Archbishops Register for the Province of
Canterbury, that Richard Hookers Will bears date Octob. 26. in Anno
1600. and that it was prov'd the third of December following.

And that at his death he left four Daughters, Alice, Cicily, Jane and

Richardus Hooker vir summis Doctrinæ dotibus ornatus, de Ecclesia præcipuè Anglicana optimè meritus, obiit Novemb. 2. circiter boram secundam postmeridianam. Anno 1600.

And the Reader may take notice, that since I first writ this Appendix to the Life of Mr. Hooker, Mr. Fulman of Corpus Christi College, hath shewed me a good Authority for the very day and hour of Mr. Hookers death, in one of his Books of Polity, which had been Archbishop Lauds. In which Book, beside many considerable Marginal Notes of some passages of his time, under the Bisbops own hand, there is also written in the Title page of that Book (which now is Mr. Fulmans) this Attestation:

Margaret; that he gave to each of them an hundred pound; that he left Jone his Wife his sole Executrix, and that by his Inventory, his Estate (a great part of it being in Books) came to 1092 I. 9 s. 2. d. which was much more than hethought himself worth; and which was not got by his care, much less by the good huswifery of his Wife, but saved by his trusty servant Thomas Lane, that was wiser than his Master in getting money for him, and more frugal than his Mistress in keeping of it; of which Will of Mr. Hookers I shall say no more, but that his dear friend Thomas, the father of George Crammer (of whom I have spoken, and shall have occasion to say more) was one of the witnesses to it.

One of his elder Daughters was married to one Chalinor, sometime a School-master in Chichester, and are both dead long since: Margaret his youngest Daughter was married unto Ezekiel Chark, Batchelor in Divinity, and Rector of St. Nicholas in Harble-down near Canterbury, who died about 16 years past, and had a son Ezekiel, now living, and in Sacred Orders; being at this time Rector of Waldron in Sussex; she left also a Daughter, with both whom I have spoken not many months past, and find her to be a Widow in a condition that wants not, but very far from abounding; and these two attested unto me, that Richard Hooker their Grandfather had a Sister, by name Elizabeth Harvey, that liv'd to the Age of 121 Years, and dyed in the month of September, 1663.

For his other two Daughters I can learn little certainty, but have heard they both died before they were marriageable; and for his Wife, she was so unlike Jeptha's Daughter, that she staid not a comely time to bewail her Widdow-hood; nor liv'd long enough to repenther second marriage, for which doubtless she would have found cause, if there had been but four months betwixt Mr. Hookers and her death: But she is dead, and let her other infirmities be buried with her.

Thus much briefly for his Age, the Year of his Death, his Estate, his Wife, and his Children. I am next to speak of his Books: concerning which, I shall have a necessity of being longer, or, shall neither do right to my self, or my Reader, which is chiefly intended in this Appendix.

I have declared in his Life, that he proposed eight Books, and that his first four were printed Anno 1594, and his fifth Book first printed, and alone, Anno 1597, and that he liv'd to finish the remaining three of the proposed eight, but whether we have the last three as finish't by himself, is a just and material Question; concerning which I do declare, that I have been told almost 40 Years past, by one that very well knew Mr. Hooker, and the affairs of his Family, that about a month after the death of Mr. Hooker, Bishop Whiteift, then Archbishop of Canterbury, sent one of his Chaplains to enquire of Mrs. Hooker, for the three remaining Books of Polity, writ by her Husband: of which she would not, or could not give any account; and that about three months after that time the Bishop procured her to be sent for to London, and then by his procurement she was to be examined, by some of her Majesties Council, concerning the disposal of those Books; but, by way of preparation for the next dayes examination, the Bishop invited her to Lambeth, and, after some friendly questions, she confessed to him, That one Mr. Charke, and another Minister that dwelt near Canterbury, came to her, and desired that they might go into her Husbands Study, and look upon some of his Writings: and that there they two burnt and tore many of them, assuring her, that they were Writings not fit to be seen, & that she knew nothing more concerning them. Her lodging was then in Kingstreet in Westminster, where she was found next morning dead in her Bed, and her new husband suspected and questioned for it; but he was declared innocent of her death.

And I declare also, that Dr. John Spencer (mentioned in the Life of Mr. Hooker) who was of Mr. Hookers Colledge, and of his time there, and berwist whom there was so friendly a friendship, that they continually advised together in all their Studies, and particularly in what concern'd these Books of Polity: This Dr. Spencer, the 3 perfect Books being lost, had delivered into his hands (I think by Bishop Whitefif) the imperfect Books, or first rough draughts of them, to be made as perfect as they might be, by him, who both knew Mr. Hookers hand writing, and was best acquainted with his intentions. And a fair Testimony of this may appear by an Epistle first and usually printed before Mr. Hookers five Books (but omitted, I know not why, in the

last impression of the eight printed together in Anno 1662, in which the Publishers seem to impose the three doubtful Books to be the undoubted Books of Mr. Hooker) with these two Letters J. S. at the end of the said Epistle, which was meant for this John Spencer: in which Epistle, the Reader may find these words, which may give some Authority to what I have here written of his last three Books.

And though Mr. Hooker hastened his own death by hastening to give life to his Books, yet he held out with his eyes to behold these Benjamins, these sons of his right hand, though to him they prov'd Benonies, sons of pain and sorrow, But some evil disposed minds, whether of malice, or covetousness, or wicked blind zeal, it is uncertain, as soon as they were born, and their father dead, smother'd them, and, by conveying the perfect Copies, left unto us nothing but the old imperfect mangled draughts dismembred into pieces; no favour, no grace, not the shadow of themselves remaining in them; had the father lived to behold them thus defaced, he might rightly have named them Benonies, the sons of sorrow; but being the learned will not suffer them to dye and be buried, it is intended the world shall see them as they are; the learned will find in them some shadows and resemblances of their fathers face. God grant, that as they were with their Brethren dedicated to the Church for messengers of peace; so, in the strength of that little breath of life that remaineth in them, they may prosper in their work, and by satisfying the doubts of such as are willing to learn, they may help to give an end to the calamities of these our Civill Wars.

J.S.

And next the Reader may note, that this Epistle of Dr. Spencers, was writ and first printed within four years after the death of Mr. Hooker, in which time all diligent search had been made for the perfect Copies; and, then granted not recoverable, and therefore endeavored to be compleated out of M. Hookers rough draughts, as is express by the said D. Spencer, in the said Epistle, since whose death it is now 50 Years.

And I do profess by the faith of a Christian, that Dr. Spencers Wife (who was my Aunt and Sister to George Cranmer, of whom I have spoken) told me forty Years since, in these, or in words to this purpose, That her Husband bad made up, or finish't Mr. Hookers last three Books; and that upon her Husbands Deathbed, or in his last Sickness, he gave them

into her hand, with a charge they should not be seen by any man, but he by her delivered into the hands of the then Archbishop of Canterbury, which was Dr. Abbot, or unto Dr. King then Bishop of London, and that she did as he injoin'd her.

I do conceive, that from D. Spencers, and no other Copy, there have been divers Transcripts, and I know that these were to be found in several places, as namely, Sir Thomas Bodlies Library, in that of D. Andrews, late Bishop of Winton, in the late Lord Conwayes, in the Archbishop of Conterburies, and in the Bishop of Armaghs, and in many others: and most of these pretended to be the Authors own hand, but much disagreeing, being indeed altered and diminisht, as men have thought fittest to make Mr. Hookers judgment suit with their fancies, or give authority to their corrupt designs; and for proof of a part of this, take these following Testimonies.

Dr. Barnard, sometime Chaplain to Dr. Usber, late Lord Archbishop of Armagh, hath declar'd in a late Book called Clavi Trebales, printed by Richard Hodgkinson, Anno 1661. that in his search and examination of the said Bishops Manuscripts, he found the three written Books which were supposed the 6, 7, and 8, of Mr. Hookers Books of Ecclesiastical Polity; and that in the said three Books (now printed as Mr. Hookers) there are so many omissions, that they amount to many Paragraphs, and which cause many incoherencies; the omissions are by him set down at large in the said printed Book, to which I refer the Reader for the whole; but think fit in this place to insert this following short part of some of the said omissions.

First, as there could be in Natural Bodies no Motion of any thing, unless there were some first which moved all things, and continued unmoveable; even so in Politick Societies, there must be some unpunishable, or else no mean shall swifter punishment; for sith punishments proceed alwayes from Superiors, to whom the administration of justice belongeth, which administration must have necessarily a fountain that deriveth it to all others, and receiveth not from any, because otherwise the course of justice should go infinitely in a Circle, every Superior baving his Superior without end, which cannot be; therefore, a Well-spring, it followeth, there is, a Supream bead of Justice whereunto all are subject, but it self in subjection to none. Which kind of preheminency if some

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ought to have in a Kingdom, who but the King shall have it? Kings therefore, or no man can have lawful power to judge.

If private men offende there is the Magistrate over them which judgeth; if Magistrates? they have their Prince; if Princes? there is Haven, a Tribinal, before which they shall appear, on Earth they are not accomptable to any. Here, says the Doctor, it breaks off abruptly.

And I have these words also attested under the hand of Mr. Fabian Philips, a man of Note for his useful Books. I will make Oath, if I shall be required, that Dr. Sanderson, the late Bishop of Lincoln, did a little before his death, affirm to me, he had seen a Manuscript affirmed to him to be the band-uriting of Mr. Richard Hooker, in which there was no mention made of the King or Supream Governours being accomptable to the People; this I will make Oath, that that good man attested to me.

Fabian Philips.

So that there appears to be both Omissions and Additions in the said last three printed Books; and this may probably be one reason why Dr. Sanderson, the said learned Bishop (whose Writings are so highly and justly valued) gave a strict charge near the time of his Death, or in his last Will, That nothing of his that was not already printed, should be printed after his Death.

It is well known how high a value our learned King James put upon the Books wirt by Mr. Hooker, and known also that our late King Charles (the Martyr for the Church) valued them the second of all Books, testified by his commending them to the reading of his Son Charles, that now is our gracious King; and you may suppose that this Charles the First, was not a stranger to the pertended three Books, because in a Discourse with the Lord Say, in the time of the Long Parliament, when the said Lord required the King to grant the truth of his Argument, because it was the judgment of Mr. Hooker (quoting, him in one of the three written Books) the King replied, They were not allowed to be Mr. Hookers Books; but however he would allow them to be Mr. Hookers, and consent to what his Lordship proposed to prove out of those doubtful Books, if he would but consent to the Judgment of Mr. Hookers in the other five that were the undoubted Books of Mr. Hooker.

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In this relation concerning these three doubtful Books of Mr. Hobers, my purpose was to enquire, then set down what I observ'd and know, which I have done, not as an engaged person, but indifferently; and now, leave my Reader to give sentence, for their legitimation, as to himself; but so, as to leave others the same liberty of believing, or disbelieving them to be Mr. Hobers; and its observable, that as Mr. Hooker advis'd with Dr. Spencer, in the design and manage of these Books, so also, and chiefly with his dear Pupil George Crammer (whose Sister was the Wife of Dr. Spencer) of which this following Letter may be a Testimony, and doth also give Authority to some things mentioned both in this Appendix, and in the life of Mr. Hooker, and is therefore added.

GEORGE CRANMERS Letter unto Mr. Richard Hooker, Feb. 1598

What Posterity is likely to judge of these matters concerning Church-Discipline, we may the better conjecture, if we call to mind what our own Age, within few years, upon better Experience, hath already judged concerning the same. It may be remembred, that at first the greatest part of the Learned in the Land, were either eagerly affected, or favourably inclined that way. The Books then written for the most part savoured of the Disciplinary stile; it sounded every where in Pulpits, and in common phrase of mens speech: the contrary part began to fear they had taken a wrong course, many which impugned the Discipline, yet so impugned it, not as not being the better Form of Government, but as not being so convenient for our State, in regard of dangerous Innovations thereby like to grow;1 one man alone there was, to speak of (whom let no suspition of flattery deprive of his deserved commendation) who in the defiance of the one part, and courage of the other, stood in the gap, and gave others respite to prepare themselves to the defence, which by the sudden eagerness and violence of

¹ John Whitgift the Archbishop.

their adversaries, had otherwise been prevented, wherein God hath made good unto him his own Impress, Vincit qui patitur; for what contumelious indignities he hath at their hands sustained, the World is witness; and what reward of Honour above his Adversaries God hath bestowed upon him, themselves (though nothing glad thereof) must needs confess. Now of late years the heat of men towards the Discipline is greatly decayed, their judgments begin to sway on the other side: the Learned have weighed it, and found it light; wise men conceive some fear, lest it prove not only not the best kind of Government. but the very bane and destruction of all Government. The cause of this change in mens Opinions, may be drawn from the general nature of Error, disguised and cloathed with the name of Truth; which did mightily and violently possess men at first, but afterwards, the weakness thereof being by time discovered, it lost that reputation, which before it had gained; as by the outside of an house the passers by are oftentimes deceived, till they see the conveniency of the Rooms within: so by the very name of Discipline and Reformation, men were drawn at first to cast a fancy towards it, but now they have not contented themselves only to pass by and behold afar off the Fore-front of this reformed house; they have entered in, even at the special request of Master-workmen and chief builders thereof: they have perused the Rooms, the Lights, the Conveniencies, and they find them not answerable to that report which was made of them, nor to that opinion which upon report they had conceived: So as now, the Discipline which at first triumphed over all, being unmasked, beginneth to droop and hang down her head.

This cause of change in opinion concerning the Discipline, is proper to the Learned, or to such as by them have been instructed; another cause there is more open, and more apparent to the view of all, namely, the course of Practice, which the Reformers have had with us from the beginning; the first degree was onely some small difference about the Cap and Surplice, but not such as either bred division in the Church, or tended to the ruine of the Government established. This was peaceable; the next degree more stirring. Admonitions were directed to the Parliament in peremptory sort against our whole Form of Regi-

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ment; in defence of them, Volumes were published in English, and in Latin; yet this was no more than writing. Devices were set on foot to erect the Practice of the Discipline without Authority; yet herein some regard of Modesty, some moderation was used; Behold, at length it brake forth into open outrage, first in writing by Martin, in whose kind of dealing these things may be observed; first, that whereas T.C. and others his great Masters has always before set out the Discipline as a Queen, and as the Daughter of God; He contrarywise, to make her more acceptable to the people, brought her forth as a Vice upon the Stage. 2. This conceit of his was grounded (as may be supposed) upon this rare policy, that seeing the Discipline was by writing refuted, in Parliament rejected, in secret corners hunted out and decryed, it was imagined that by open rayling (which to the Vulgar is commonly most plausible) the State Ecclesiastical might have been drawn into such contempt and hatred, as the overthrow thereof should have been most grateful to all men, and in a manner desired by all the Common people. 3. It may be noted, (and this I know my self to be true) how some of them, although they could not for shame approve so lewd an Action: yet were content to lay hold on it to the advancement of their cause, by acknowledging therein the secret Judgments of God against the Bishops: and hoping that some good might be wrought thereby for his Church; as indeed there was, though not according to their construction. For, 4. contrary to their expectation, that railing Spirit did not only not further, but extremely disgrace and prejudice their Cause, when it was once perceived from how low degrees of contradiction, at first, to what outrage of Contumely and Slander they were at length proceeded; and were also likely to proceed further.

A further degree of outrage was also in Fact; Certain¹ Prophets did arise, who deeming it not possible that God should suffer that to be undone, which they did so fiercely desire to have done, Namely, that his holy Saints, the favourers and Fathers of the Discipline, should be enlarged, and delivered from persecution; and seeing no means of Deliverance Ordinary, were fain to perswade themselves that God

¹ Hacket and Coppinger.

must needs raise some extraordinary means; and being perswaded of none so well as of themselves, they forthwith must needs be the instruments of this great work. Hereupon they framed unto themselves an assured hope that upon their Preaching out of a Pease Cart in Cheapside, all the multitude would have presently joyned unto them; and in amazement of mind have asked them, Viri frattes, quid agimus? where unto it is likely they would have returned an answer far unlike to that of St. Peter, Sueb and such are men unworthy to govern, pluck them down; Sueb and such are the dear Children of God, let them be advanced.

Of two of these men it is meet to speak with all Commiseration: yet so, that others by their example may receive instruction, and withal some light may appear, what stirring affections the Discipline is like to inspire, if it light upon apt and prepared minds.

Now, if any man doubt of what Society they were? or, if the Reformers disclaim them, pretending, that by them they were condemned; let these points be considered. It. Whose associates were they before they entered into this frantick Passion? whose Sermons did they frequent? whom did they admire? 2. Even when they were entering into it, whose advice did they require? and when they were in, whose approbation? whom advertised they of their purpose? whose assistance by Prayer did they require? But we deal injuriously with them to lay this to their charge; for they reproved and condemned it. How? did they disclose it to the Magistrate, that it might be suppressed? or were they not rather content to stand aloof of, and see the end of it, as being loath to quench that Spirit? No doubt these mad practitioners were of their society, with whom before, and in the practice of their madness they had most affinity. Hereof read Dr. Banceofts Book.

A third inducement may be to dislike of the Discipline, if we consider not only how far the Reformers themselves have proceeded, but what others upon their Foundations have built. Here come the Brounists in the first rank: their lineal descendants: who have seised upon a number of strange opinions: whereof, although their Ancestors, the Reformers, were never actually possessed, yet by right and interest from them derived, the Brounists and Barrounists have taken possession of them; for if the positions of the Reformers be true, I cannot see how

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the main and general Conclusions of Brownism should be false; for, upon these two points, as I conceive, they stand.

I. That because we have no Church, they are to sever themselves from us. 2. That without Civil Authority they are to erect a Church of their own. And if the former of these be true, the latter, I suppose will follow; for if above all things, men be to regard their Salvation; and if out of the Church there be no Salvation; it followeth, that if we have no Church, we have no means of Salvation; and therefore separation from us, in that respect, is both lawful and necessary; as also that men so separated from the false and counterfeit Church, are to associate themselves unto some Church; not to ours; to the Popish much less; therefore to one of their own making: Now the ground of all these Inferences being this, (That in our Church there is no means of Salvation) is out of the Reformers Principles most clearly to be proved. For wheresoever any matter of Faith unto Salvation necessary is denyed, there can be no means of Salvation; But in the Church of England, the Discipline (by them accounted a matter of Faith, and) necessary to Salvation, is not onely denyed, but impugned, and the Professors thereof oppressed. Ergo.

Again, (but this reason perhaps is weak) Every true Church of Christ acknowledgeth the whole Gospel of Christ: The Discipline, in their opinion, is a part of the Gospel, and yet by our Church resisted. Ergo.

Again, the Discipline is essentially united to the Church: by which term Essentially, they must mean either an essential part, or an essential property. Both which ways it must needs be, that where that essential Discipline is not, neither is there any Church. If therefore between them and the Brownists, there should be appointed a Solemn disputation, whereof with us they have been oftentimes so earnest Challengers: it doth not yet appear what other answer they could possibly frame to these and the like arguments, whereowith they may be pressed, but fairly to deny the Conclusion (for all the Premisses are their own) or rather ingeniously to reverse their own Principles, before laid, whereon so foul absurdities have been so firmly built. What further proofs you can bring out of their high words, magnifying the Dis-

cipline, I leave to your better remembrance: but above all points, I am desirous this one should be strongly inforced against them, because it wringeth them most of all, and is of all others (for ought I see) the most unanswerable; you may notwithstanding say, that you would be heartily glad these their positions might be salved as the Brownists might not appear to have issued out of their Loyns: but until that be done, they must give us leave to think that they have cast the Seed where out these tares are grown.

Another sort of men there are, which have been content to run on with the Reformers for a time, and to make them poor instruments of their own designs: These are a sort of Godless Politicks, who perceiving the Plot of Discipline to consist of these two parts, the overthrow of Episcopal, and erections of Presbyterial Authority, and that this latter can take no place till the former be removed, are content to joyn with them in the Destructive part of Discipline, bearing them in hand. that in the other also they shall find them as ready. But when time shall come, it may be they would be as loath to be voaked with that kind of Regiment, as now they are willing to be released from this: These mens ends in all their actions, is Distraction, their pretence and colour, Reformation. Those things which under this colour they have effected to their own good, are, I. By maintaining a contrary faction. they have kept the Clergy alwayes in Awe, and thereby made them more pliable and willing to buy their peace. 2. By maintaining an Opinion of Equality among Ministers, they have made way to their own purposes for devouring Cathedral Churches, and Bishops livings. 3. By exclaiming against abuses in the Church, they have carried their own corrupt dealings in the Civil State more covertly; for such is the Nature of the multitude, that they are not able to apprehend many things at once; so as being possessed with a dislike or liking of any one thing, many other in the mean time may escape them without being perceived. 4. They have sought to disgrace the Clergy, in entertaining a conceit in mens minds, and confirming it by continual practice, That men of Learning, and specially of the Clergy. which are imployed in the chiefest kind of Learning, are not to be admitted, or sparingly admitted to matter of State; contrary to the practice of

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all well-governed Commonwealths, and of our own till these late years.

A third sort of men there are, though not descended from the Reformers, yet in part raised and greatly strengthened by them; namely, the cursed crew of Atheists. This also is one of those points, which I am desirous you should handle most effectually, and strain your self therein to all points of motion and affection; as, in that of the Brownists, to all strength and sinews of Reason. This is a sort most damnable, and yet by the general suspition of the world at this day most common. The causes of it, which are in the parties themselves (although you handle in the beginning of the fifth Book,) yet here again they may be touched; but the occasions of help and furtherance, which by the Reformers have been yielded unto them, are, as I conceive, two; namely, Senseless Preaching, and disgracing of the Ministry; for how should not men dare to impugn that, which neither by force of Reason, nor by Authority of Persons is maintained; But in the parties themselves these two causes I conceive of Atheism, 1. more abundance of Wit then Judgment, and of Witty than Judicious Learning, whereby they are more inclined to contradict any thing, than willing to be informed of the Truth. They are not therefore men of sound Learning for the most part, but Smatterers; neither is their kind of Dispute so much by force of Argument, as by Scoffing; which humour of scoffing, and turning matters most serious into merriment, is now become so common, as we are not to marvel what the Prophet means by the Seat of Scorners, nor what the Apostles by foretelling of Scorners to come; for our own age hath verified their speech unto us; which also may be an Argument against these Scoffers and Atheists themselves, seeing it hath been so many ages ago foretold, that such men the later dayes of the world should afford: which could not be done by any other Spirit, save that whereunto things future and present are alike. And even for the main question of the Resurrection, whereat they stick so mightily! was it not plainly foretold, that men should in the latter times say, Where is the Promise of his Coming? Against the Creation, the Ark, and divers other points, exceptions are said to be taken, the ground whereof is superfluity of Wit, without ground of Learning and Judgment. A.

second cause of Atheism is Sensuality, which maketh men desirous to remove all stops and impediments of their wicked life; among which, because Religion is the chiefest, so as neither in this life without shame they can persist therein, nor (if that be true) without Torment in the life to come: they therefore whet their wits to annihilate the joys of Heaven, wherein they see (if any such be) they can have no part, and likewise the pains of Hell, wherein their portion must needs be very great. They labour therefore, not that they may not deserve those pains. but that deserving them, there may be no such pains to seize upon them; But what conceit can be imagined more base, than that man should strive to perswade himself even against the secret Instinct (no doubt) of his own Mind, that his Soul is as the Soul of a Beast, mortal and corruptible with the Body? Against which barbarous Opinion. their own Atheism is a very strong Argument. For were not the Soul a Nature separable from the Body, how could it enter into discourse of things meerly Spiritual, and nothing at all pertaining to the Body? Surely the Soul were not able to conceive any thing of Heaven, no not so much as to dispute against Heaven and against God, if there were not in it somewhat Heavenly and derived from God.

The last which have received strength and encouragement from the Reformers are Papists; against whom although they are most bitter Enemies, yet unwittingly they have given them great advantage. For what can any Enemy rather desire than the Breach and Dissention of those which are Confederates against him? Wherein they are to remember, that if our Communion with Papists in some few Ceremonies do so much strengthen them as is pretended, how much more doth this Division and Rent among our selves, especially seeing it is maintained to be, not in light matters only, but even in matter of Faith and Salvation? Which over-reaching Speech of theirs, because it is so open an advantage for the Barrowist and the Papist, we are to wish and hope for, that they will acknowledge it to have been spoken rather in heat of Affection, than with soundness of Judgment; and that through their exceeding love to that Creature of Discipline which themselves have bred, nourished, and maintained, their mouth in commendation of her did so often overflow

CRANMER'S LETTER

From hence you may proceed (but the means of connexion I leave to your self) to another discourse, which I think very meet to be handled either here or elsewhere at large; the parts whereof may be these. I. That in this cause between them and us, men are to sever the proper and essential points and controversie, from those which are accidental. The most essential and proper are these two: overthrow of Episcopal, and erection of Presbyterial Authority. But in these two points whosoever joineth with them is accounted of their number; whosoever in all other points agreeth with them, yet thinketh the Authority of Bishops not unlawful, and of Elders not necessary, may justly be severed from their retinue. Those things therefore, which either in the Persons, or in the Laws and Orders themselves are faulty, may be complained on, acknowledged and amended; yet they no whit the nearer their main purpose; for what if all errors by them supposed in our Liturgy were amended, even according to their own hearts desire? if Non-residence, Pluralities, and the like, were utterly taken away? are their Lay-Elders therefore presently Authorized? or their Soveraign Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction established?

But even in their complaining against the outward and accidental matters in Church-government, they are many ways faulty: 1. In their end, which they propose to themselves. For in Declaming against Abuses, their meaning is not to have them redressed, but by disgracing the present State, to make way for their own Discipline. As therefore in Venice, if any Senatour should discourse against the Power of their Senate, as being either too Soveraign, or too weak in Government, with purpose to draw their Authority to a Moderation, it might wellbe suffered; but not so, if it should appear he spake with purpose to induce another State by depraving the present: So, in all Causes belonging either to Church or Commonwealth, we are to have regard what mind the Complaining part doth bear, whether of Amendment or Innovation; and accordingly either to suffer or suppress it, Their Objection therefore is frivolous, Why may not men speak against Abuses? Yes; but with desire to cure the part affected, not to destroy the whole. 2. A second fault is in their Manner of Complaining, not only because it is for the most part in bitter and reproachful Terms, but

also it is to the Common people, who are Judges incompetent and insufficient, both to determine any thing amiss, and for want of Skill and Authority to amend it. Which also discovereth their Intent and Purpose to be rather Destructive than Corrective. 3. Thirdly, those very exceptions which they take are frivolous and impertinent: Some things indeed they accuse as impious, which if they may appear to be such, God forbid they should be maintained.

Against the rest it is only alledged, that they are Idle Ceremonies without use, and that better and more profitable might be devised. Wherein they are doubly deceived: for neither is it a sufficient Plea to say. This must give place, because a Better may be devised; because in our Judgments of Better and Worse, we oftentimes conceive amiss, when we compare those things which are in Devise, with those which are in Practice: for the Imperfections of the one are hid, till by Time and Trial they be discovered: The others are already manifest and open to all. But last of all (which is a Point in my Opinion of great regard, and which I am desirous to have enlarg'd) they do not see that for the most part when they strike at the State Ecclesiastical, they secretly wound the Civil State: for Personal faults. What can be said against the Church. which may not also agree to the Commonwealth? In both States Men have always been, and will be always, Men; sometimes blinded with Error, most commonly perverted by passions; many Unworthy have been and are advanced in both, many Worthy not regarded. And as for Abuses which they pretend to be in the Laws themselves, when they inveigh against Non-residence, do they take it a matter lawful or expedient in the Civil State for a man to have a great and gainful Office in the North, himself continually remaining in the South? He that bath an Office, let him attend his Office. When they condemn Plurality of Livings Spiritual to the pit of Hell, what think they of the Infinite of Temporal Promotions? By the great Philosopher, Pol.lib.2,c.o. it is forbidden as a thing most dangerous to Commonwealths, that by the same man many great Offices should be exercised: When they deride our Ceremonies as vain and frivolous, were it hard to apply their Exceptions even to those Civil Ceremonies, which at the Corona tion, in Parliament, and all Courts of Justice, are used: Were it hard

CRANMER'S LETTER

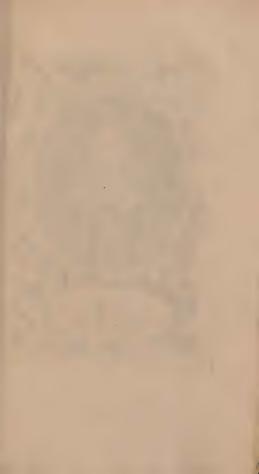
to argue even against Circumcision, the Ordinance of God, as being a cruel Ceremony? against the Passeover, as being ridiculous, shod, girt, a Staff in their hand, to eat a Lamb.

To conclude; you may exhort the Clergy (or what if you direct your Conclusion not to the Clergy in general, but only to the Learned in or of both Universities?) you may exhort them to a due Consideration of all things, and to a right Esteem and Valuing of each thing in that degree wherein it ought to stand. For it oftentimes falleth out, that what Men have either devised themselves, or greatly delighted in, the Price and the Excellency thereof they do admire above desert. The chiefest Labour of a Christian should be to know; of a Minister. to preach Christ crucified: in regard whereof, not only Worldly things. but things otherwise precious, even the Discipline it self is vile and base: Whereas now by the heat of Contention, and violence of Affection, the Zeal of men towards the one hath greatly decayed their Love to the other. Hereunto therefore they are to be exhorted, to Preach Christ crucified, the Mortification of the Flesh, the Renewing of the Spirit; not those things which in time of Strife seem precious, but (Passions being allayed) are vain and childish.

G. C.

FINIS







HIBBERT

The second

Description of the second of t

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Who Lucips in "stemps led".

For as in Chains the learner cank to Hell,
And tumbling headlang down the precipece fell,
By him first taught, How art they fallen they
start they said.

fondly then, we have fiscer'd bim. Maid:

"", " vain beethern of the flooring crade;

A femal Augel has world Wildowski'l appeared.

Raphaei . This the famous painte



THE LIFE

OF MR. GEORGE

HERBERT

JAKK JAKK

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To his very worthy and much honoured friend Mr. Lzaak Walton, upon his excellent life of Mr. George Herbert.

I.

Heav'ns youngest Son, its Benjamin,
Divinity's next Brother, Sacred Poesie,
No longer shall a Virgin reckoned be,
(What ere with others' tis) by me,
A Female Muse, as were the Nine:
But (full of Vigor Masculine)
An Essence Male, with Angels his Companions shine.

With Angels first the heavenly youth was bred; And, when a Child, instructed them to sing, The praises of th'Immortal King, Who Lucifer in Triumph led:

For, as in Chains the Monster sank to Hell,
And tumbling headlong down the precipice fell,
By him first taught, How art thou fallen thou morning
star? they said

Too fondly then, we have fancy'd him a Maid: We, the vain Brethren of the rhyming trade; A femal Angel less would ¹Urbins skill upbraid.

¹ Raphael Urbin the famous painter.

II.

Thus 'twas in Heaven: This, Poesy's Sex and Age; And, when he thence t'our lower World came down, He chose a Form more like his own, And Jesse's youngest Son inspir'd with holy rage,

The sprightly Shepherd felt unusual Fire, And up he took his tuneful Lyre:

He took it up, and struck't, and his own soft touches did admire.

Thou, Poesie, on him didst bestow

Thy choicest gift, a honor shew'd before to none;

And, to prepare his way to th'Hebrew Throne, Gav'st him thy Empire, and Dominion:

The happy Land of Verse, where flow

Rivers of Milk, and Woods of Laurel grow;

Wherewith thou didst adorn his brow, And mad'st his first, more flourishing, and triumphant Crown.

Assist me thy great Prophets praise to sing,

David, the Poets, and bless'd Israels King;

And, with the dancing Echo, let the mountains ring!

Then, on the wings of some auspicious wind, Let his great name from earth be rais'd on high.

And in the starry volume of the Sky.

A lasting Record find:

Be with his mighty Psaltery join'd; Which, taken long since up into the Air,

And call'd the Harp, makes a bright Constellation there.

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Worthy it was to be translated hence,
And, there, in view of all, exalted hang:
To which so off the Princely Prophet sang,
And mystick Oracles did dispence.
Though, had it still remain'd below,
More wonders of it we had seen,
How great the mighty Hutberti skill had been.

COMMENDATORY POEMS

Herbert, who could so much without it do; Herbert, who did its Chords distinctly know, More perfectly, than any Child of Verse below.

O! Had we known him half so well! But then, my friend, there had been left for you Nothing so fair, and worthy praise to do; Who so exactly all his Story tell,

That, though he did not want his Bays, Nor all the Monuments vertue can raise, Your hand, he did, to Eternize his Praise.

Herbert, and Donne, again are join'd, Now here below, as they're above:

These friends are in their old embraces twin'd; And, since by you the Enterview's design'd,

Too weak, to part them, death does prove;

For in this book they meet again: as in one Heav'n they love.

Bensted, Apr. 3. 1670. Sam. Woodforde D.D.

IN VITAM GEORGII HERBERTI AB ISAACO WALTONO SCRIPTAM

O Quâm erubesco cum tuam vitam lego,
Herberte Sancte, quamq; me pudet mecæ!
Ego talpa caecus bic bumi fodiens miser,
Aquila volatu tu petens mubes tuo,
Ego Choicum vas terreas factes olens,
Tu (sola namq, V ramia tibi ex musis placet)
Nil tale spiries; sed sapis cælum & Deum,
Omnig; vitæ, libri & omni, lineā;
Temphima; tecum ubig; circumfers tuum:
Domi-porta cæli, cui domus propria, optima:
Ubi Rex, bi Roma, Imperii sede; ubi
Tu sancte vates, templum ibi, & cælum, & Deus,

401

THE LIFE OF HERBERT Tu quale nobis intuendum clericis Speculum Sacerdotale, tu aualem piis Pastoris ideam & libro & vitâ tuâ Tu quale Sanctitatis elementis bonæ, Moruma; nobis tradis exemplum ac typum! Typum, 1 Magistro nempe proximum Tuo, Exemplar illud orande aui solus fuit. Canonizet eroò auos velit Dominus Pava: Sibia; sanctos, quos facit, servit suos Colátque; sancte Herberte, tu Sanctus meus; Oraa: pro me, dicerem, si fas, tibi, Sed bos bonores par nec est sanctis dari: Velis nec ipse; recolo te, sed non colo. Talis legenda est vita Sancti, concio Ad promovendum quam potens & efficax! Per talia exempla est breve ad cælos iter. Waltone, macte, perge vitas scribere. Et penicillo, quo Vales, insigni adbuc Sanctorum imagines coloribus suis Plures repræsentare: auod tu dum facis Vitama; & illis & tibi das Posthumam. Lectoris æternæg; vitæ consulis. Urge ergò pensum; at interim scias velim, Plutarchus alter sic licèt Biographus, Herberto, Amice, vix Parallelum dabis. Liceat Libro addere hanc coronidem tuo: Vir, an Poeta, Orator an melior fuit.

Jacob. Duport. S.T.P.
Decanus Petr.

Meliornè amicus, sponsus, an Pastor Gregis, Herbertus, incertum; & quis hoc facilè sciat, Melior ubi ille, qui fuit ubiq; optimus.

¹ Sic Christum solens vocavit quoties ejus mentionem fecit.

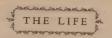
THE INTRODUCTION &

TN a late retreat from the business of this World, and those many little cares with which I have too often cumbred my self, I fell into a Contemplation of some of those Historical passages that are recorded in Sacred Story; and, more particularly, of what had past betwixt our Blessed Saviour, and that wonder of Women, and Sinners, and Mourners, Saint Mary Magdalen. I call her Saint, because I did not then, nor do now consider her, as when she was possest with seven Devils; not as when her wanton Eyes, and dissheveld Hair, were designed and manag'd, to charm and insnare amorous Beholders: But I did then, and do now consider her, as after she had exprest a visible and sacred sorrow for her sensualities; as after those Eyes had wept such a flood of penitential tears as did wash, and that hair had wip't, and she most passionately kist the feet of hers, and our blessed Jesus. And I do now consider, that because she lov'd much, not only much was forgiven her: but that, beside that blessed blessing of baving her sins pardoned, and the joy of knowing her happy Condition, she also had from him a testimony, that her Alabaster box of precious oyntment poured on his head and feet, and that Spikenard, and those Spices that were by her dedicated to embalm and preserve his sacred body from putrefaction, should so far preserve her own memory, that these demonstrations of her sanctified love, and of her officious, and generous gratitude, should be recorded and mentioned wheresoever his Gospel should be read: intend ing thereby, that as his, so her name should also live to succeeding generations, even till time it self shall be no more.

Upon occasion of which fair example, I did lately look back, and not without some content (at least to my self) that I have endeavour'd to deserve the love, and preserve the memory of my two deceased friends, Dr. Donne, and Sir Henry Wotton, by declaring the several employments and various accidents of their Lives: And though Mr. George Herbert (whose Life I now intend to write) were to me a stranger as to his person, for I have only seen him: yet since he was, and was worthy to be their friend, and very many of his have been mine; I judge it may not be unacceptable to those that knew any of

them in their lives, or do now know them by mine, or their own Writings, to see this Conjunction of them after their deaths; without which, many things that concern'd them, and some things that concern'd the Age in which they liv'd, would be less perfect, and lost to posterity.

For these Reasons I have undertaken it, and if I have prevented any abler person, I beg pardon of him, and my Reader.



EORGEHERBERT was born the third day of April, was near to the Town of Montgomery, and in that Cartle that did then bear the name of that Town and County; that Cartle was then a place of state and strength, and had been successively happy in the Family of the Herberts, who had long possest it: and, with it, a plentiful Estate, and hearts as liberal to their poor Neighbours. A Family, that hath been blest with men of remarkable wisdom, and a willingness to serve their Country, and indeed, to do good to all Mankind; for which they are eminent: But alas! this Family did in the late Rebellion suffer extreamly in their Estates; and the Heirs of that Castle saw it laid level with that earth that was too good to bury those Wretches that were the cause of it.

The Father of our George, was Richard Herbert the Son of Edward Herbert Knight, the Son of Richard Herbert Knight, the Son of the famous Sir Richard Herbert of Colebrook in the County of Mommouth Bannetet, who was the youngest Brother of that memorable William Herbert Earl of Pembroke, that liv'd in the Reign of our King Edward the fourth.

His Mother was Magdalen Newport, the youngest Daughter of Sir Richard, and Sister to Sir Francis Newport of High Arkall in the County of Salop Kt. and Grand-father of Francis Lord Newport, now Comptroller of His Majesties Houshold. A Family, that for their Loyalty, have suffered much in their Estates, and seen the ruine of that excellent Structure, where their Ancestors have long liv'd, and been memorable for their Hospitality.

This Mother of George Herbert (of whose person and wisdom, and vertue, I intend to give a true account in a seasonable place) was the happy Mother of seven Sons, and three Daughters, which she would often say, was Job's number, and Job's distribution; and as often bless God,

that they were neither defective in their shapes, or in their reason; and very often reprove them that did not praise God for so great a blessing. I shall give the Reader a short accompt of their names, and not say much of their Fortunes.

Edward the eldest was first made Kt. of the Bath, at that glorious time of our late Prince Henries being install'd Knight of the Garter; and after many years useful travel, and the attainment of many Languages, he was by King James sent Ambassador Resident to the then French King, Lewis the Thirteenth. There he continued about two Years: but he could not subject himself to a compliance with the humors of the Duke de Luines, who was then the great and powerful Favourite at Court: so that upon a complaint to our King, he was call'd back into England in some displeasure; but at his return he gave such an honourable account of his employment, and so justified his Comportment to the Duke, and all the Court, that he was suddenly sent back upon the same Embassie, from which he return'd in the beginning of the Reign of our good King Charles the first, who made him first Baron of Castle-Island: and not long after of Cherbery in the County of Salop: He was a man of great learning and reason, as appears by his printed Book de veritate; and by his History of the Reign of K. Hen. the Eight, & by several other Tracts.

The second and third Brothers were Richard and William, who ventur'd their lives to purchase Honour in the Wars of the Low Countries, and died Officers in that employment. Charles was the fourth, and died Fellow of New-Colledge in Oxford. Henry was the sixth, who became a menial servant to the Crown in the daies of King James, and hath continued to be so for fifty years: during all which time he hath been Master of the Revels; a place that requires a diligent wisdom, with which God hath blest him. The seventh Son was Thomas, who being made Captain of a Ship in that Fleet with which Sir Robert Mansel was sent against Algiers, did there shew a fortunate and true English valor. Of the three Sisters, I need not say more, then that they were all married to persons of worth, and plentiful fortunes; and liv'd to be examples of vertue, and to do good in their generations.

I now come to give my intended account of George, who was the fifth of those seven Brothers.

George Herbert spent much of his Childhood in a sweet content under the eye and care of his prudent mother, and the tuition of a Chaplain or Tutor to him, and two of his Brothers, in her own Family (for she was then a Widow) where he continued, till about the age of twelve years; and being at that time well instructed in the Rules of Grammar, he was not long after commended to the care of Dr. Neale, who was then Dean of Westminster; and by him to the care of Mr. Ireland, who was then the Master of that School; where the beauties of his pretty behaviour and wit, shin'd and became so eminent and lovely in this his innocent age, that he seem'd to be marked out for piety, and to become the care of Heaven, and of a particular good Angel to guard and guide him. And thus, he comtinued in that School, till he came to be perfect in the learned Languages, and especially in the Greek Tongue, in which he after prov'd an excellent Critick.

About the age of Fifteen, (he, being then a Kings Scholat,) he was elected out of that School for Trimity Colledge in Cambridge, to which place he was transplanted about the year 1608. and his prudent mother well knowing, that he might easily lose, or lessen that virtue and innocence which her advice and example had planted in his mind; did therefore procure the generous and liberal Dr. Nevil, who was then Dean of Canterbury, and Master of that Colledge, to take him into his particular care, and provide him a Tutor; which he did most gladly undertake, for he knew the excellencies of his Mother, and how to value such a friendship.

This was the method of his Education, till he was setled in Cambridge, where we will leave him in his Study, till I have paid my promis'd account of his excellent Mother, and I will endeavour to make it short.

I have told her birth, her Marriage, and the Number of her Children, and have given some short account of them: I shall next tell the Reader, that her husband dyed when our George was about the Age of four years: I am next to tell that she continued twelve years a Widow: that

she then matried happily to a Noble Gentleman, the Brother and Heir of the Lord Danvers Earl of Danby, who did highly value both her person and the most excellent endowments of her mind.

In this time of her Widowhood, she being desirous to give Edward her eldest son, such advantages of Learning, and other education as might suit his birth and fortune: and thereby make him the more fit for the service of his Country: did at his being of a fit age, remove from Montgomery Castle with him, and some of her younger sons to Oxford; and having entred Edward into Queens Colledge, and provided him a fit Tutor, she commended him to his Care; yet she continued there with him, and still kept him in a moderate awe of her self; and so much under her own eye, as to see and converse with him daily; but she managed this power over him without any such rigid sourness, as might make her company a torment to her Child; but with such a sweetness and complyance with the recreations and pleasures of youth, as did incline him willingly to spend much of his time in the company of his dear and careful Mother: which was to her great content: for, she would often say, "That as our bodies take a nourishment sut-"able to the meat on which we feed: so, our souls do as insensibly "take in vice by the example or Conversation with wicked Company: and would therefore as often say, "That ignorance of Vice was the "best preservation of Vertue; and, that the very knowledge of wicked "ness was as tinder to inflame and kindle sin, and to keep it burning. For these reasons she indeared him to her own Company: and continued with him in Oxford four years: in which time, her great and harmless wit, her chearful gravity, and her obliging behaviour, gain'd her an acquaintance and friendship with most of any eminent worth or learning, that were at that time in or near that University; and particularly, with Mr. John Donne, who then came accidentally to that place, in this time of her being there; it was that John Donne who was after Doctor Donne, and Dean of Saint Pauls London: and he at his leaving Oxford, writ and left there in verse a Character of the Beauties of her body, and mind; of the first, he saies,

> No Spring nor Summer-Beauty, has such grace As I have seen in an Autumnal face.

Of the latter he sayes, In all ber words to every bearer fit You may at Revels, or at Council sit.

The rest of her Character may be read in his printed Poems, in that Elegy which bears the name of the Autumnal Beauty. For both he and she were then past the meridian of mans life.

This Amity, begun at this time, and place, was not an Amity that polluted their Souls; but an Amity made up of a chain of sutable inclinations and vertues; an Amity, like that of St. Chrysostoms to his dear and vertuous Olimpias; whom, in his Letters, he calls his Saint; Or, an Amity indeed more like that of St. Hierom to his Paula; whose affection to her was such, that he turn'd Poet in his old Age, and then made her Epitaph; wishing all his Body were turn'd into Tongues, that he might declare her just praises to posterity. - And this Amity betwixt her and Mr. Donne, was begun in a happy time for him, he being then near to the Fortieth year of his Age (which was some years before he entred into Sacred Orders:) A time, when his necessities needed a daily supply for the support of his Wife, seven Children, and a Family: And in this time she prov'd one of his most bountiful Benefactors: and he, as grateful an acknowledger of it. You may take one testimony for what I have said of these two worthy persons, from this following Letter, and Sonnet.

MADAM,

'Your Favours to me are every where; I use them, and have them. 'I enjoy them at Loudon, and leave them there; and yet find them at Micham such Riddles as these become things unexpressible; and such is your goodness. I was almost sorry to find your Servant here this 'day, because I was loth to have any witness of my not coming home 'last Night, and indeed of my coming this Morning: But, my not 'coming was excuseable, because earnest business detein'd me; and my 'coming this day, is by the example of your St. Mary Magdalen, who 'rose early upon Sunday, to seek that which she lov'd most; and so did 'I. And from her and my self, I return such thanks as are due to one 'to whom we owe all the good opinion, that they whom we need to whom we owe all the good opinion, that they whom we need

'most, have of us—by this Messenger, and on this good day, I com-'mit the inclosed Holy Hymns and Sonnets (which for the matter, not 'the workmanship, have yet escap'd the fire) to your judgment, and 'to your protection too, if you think them worthy of it; and I have 'appointed this inclosed Sonnet to usher them to your happy hand.

Your unworthiest Servant.

Micham, July 11. unless your accepting bim to be so, bave mended bim.

JO. DONNE.

To the Lady Magdalen Herbert; of St. Mary Magdalen.

Her of your name, whose fair inheritance
Bethina was, and jointure Magclalo:
An active faith so highly did advance,
That she once knew, more than the Church did know,
The Resurrection; so much good there is
Deliver'd of her, that some Fathers be
Loth to believe one Woman could do this;
But think these Magcdalens were two or three.
Increase their number, Lady, and their fame:
To their Devotion, add your Innocence:
Take so much of th' example, as of the name;
The latter half; and in some recompence
That they did harbour Christ himself, a Guest,
Harbour these Hymns, to his dear name addrest.

J. D.

These Hymns are now lost to us; but doubtless they were such, as they two now sing in Heaven.

There might be more demonstrations of the Friendship, and the many sacred Indearments betwixt these two excellent persons (for I

have many of their Letters in my hand) and much more might be said of her great prudence and pietry: but my design was not to write hers, but the Life of her Son; and therefore I shall only tell my Reader, that about that very day twenty years that this Letter was dated, and sent her, I saw and heard this Mr. John Donne (who was then Dean of St. Pauls) weep, and preach her Funeral Sermon, in the Parish-Church of Chelsey near London, where she now tests in her quiet Grave: and where we must now leave her, and return to her Son George, whom we left in his Study in Cambridge.

And in Cambridge we may find our George Herberts behaviour to be such, that we may conclude, he consecrated the first-fruits of his early age to vertue, and a serious study of learning. And that he did so, this following Letter and Sonnet which were in the first year of his going to Cambridge sent his dear Mother for a New-years gift, may appear to be some testimony.

—But I fear the heat of my late Ague hath dried up those springs, by which Scholars say, the Muses use to take up their habitations. 'However, I need not their help, to reprove the vanity of those many 'Love-poems, that are daily writ and consecrated to Venus; nor to bewail that so few are writ, that look towards God and Heaven. For 'my own part, my meaning (dear Mother) is in these Sonnets, to declare 'my resolution to be, that my poor Abilities in Poetry shall be all, and 'ever consecrated to Gods glory; and I beg you to receive this as one 'testimony.

My God, where is that ancient heat towards thee.

Wherewith whole showls of Mattyrs once did hum, Besides their other flames? Doth Poetry Wear Venus Livery? only serve her turn? Why are not Sonnets made of thee? and layes Vpon thine Altar hum? Cannot thy love Heighten a spirit to sound out thy praise As well as any she? Cannot thy Dove Out-strip their Cupid easily in flight? Or, since thy ways are deep, and still the same, Will not a verse run smooth that bears thy name!

Why doth that fire, which by thy power and might Each breast does feel, no braver fewel choose Than that, which one day, Worms may chance refuse. Sure Lord, there is enough in thee to dry Oceans of Ink; for, as the Deluge did Cover the Earth, so doth thy Majesty: Each cloud distils thy praise, and doth forbid Poets to turn it to another use. Roses and Lillies speak thee; and to make

A pair of Cheeks of them, is thy abuse. Why should I Womens eyes for Chrystal take? Such poor invention burns in their low mind Whose fire is wild, and doth not upward go To praise, and, on thee Lord, some Ink bestow. Open the bones, and you shall nothing find In the best face but filth; when Lord, in thee

The beauty lies, in the discovery.

This was his resolution at the sending this Letter to his dear Mother; about which time, he was in the Seventeenth year of his Age; and. as he grew older, so he grew in learning, and more and more in favour both with God and man: insomuch, that in this morning of that short day of his life, he seem'd to be mark'd out for vertue, and to become the care of Heaven; for God still kept his soul in so holy a frame, that he may, and ought to be a pattern of vertue to all posterity; and especially, to his Brethren of the Clergy, of which the Reader may expect a more exact account in what will follow.

G. H.

I need not declare that he was a strict Student, because, that he was so, there will be many testimonies in the future part of his life. I shall therefore only tell, that he was made Batchelor of Art in the year 1611. Major Fellow of the Colledge, March 15. 1615. And that in that year. he was also made Master of Arts, he being then in the 22d year of his Age; during all which time, all, or the greatest diversion from his Study, was the practice of Musick, in which he became a great Master;

and of which, he would say, 'That it did relieve his drooping spirits, 'compose his distracted thoughts, and raised his weary soul so far 'above Earth, that ir gave him an earnest of the joys of Heaven, before 'he possest them. And it may be noted, that from his first entrance into the Colledge, the generous Dr. Nevil was a cherisher of his Studies, and such a lover of his person, his behaviour, and the excellent endowments of his mind, that he took him often into his own company; by which he confirm'd his native gentileness; and, if during this time he exprest any Error, it was, that he kept himself too much retir'd, and at too great a distance with all his inferiours: and his cloaths seem'd to prove, that he put too great a value on his parts and Parentage.

This may be some account of his disposition, and of the employment of his time, till he was Master of Arts, which was Anno 1615. and in the year 1619. he was chosen Orator for the University. His two precedent Orators, were Sir Robert Nanton, and Sir Francis Netbersoll: The first was not long after made Secretary of State; and Sir Francis, not very long after his being Orator, was made Secretary to the Lady Elizabeth Queen of Bobemia. In this place of Orator, our George Herbert continued eight years; and manag'd it with as becoming, and grave a gaiety, as any had ever before, or since his time. For, He bod acquir'd great Learning, and was blest with a high fancy, a civil and sharp wit, and with a natural elegance, both in his behaviour, his tongue, and his pen. Of all which, there might be very many particular evidences, but I will limit my self to the mention of but three.

And the first notable occasion of shewing his fitness for this employment of Orator, was manifested in a Letter to King James, upon the occasion of his sending that University his Book, called Basilicon Doron; and their Orator was to acknowledge this great honour, and return their gratitude to His Majesty for such a condescension; at the close of which Letter, he writ,

> Quid Vaticanam Bodleianamque objicis bospes! Vnicus est nobis Bibliotheca Liber.

This Letter was writ in such excellent Latin, was so full of Conceits, and all the expressions so suted to the genius of the King, that he

inquired the Orators name, and then ask'd William Earl of Pembroke, if he knew him? whose answer was, 'That he knew him very well; 'and that he was his Kinsman, but he lov'd him more for his learning 'and vertue, than for that he was of his name and family. At which answer, the King smil'd, and asked the Earl leave, 'that he might love 'him too; for he took him to be the Jewel of that University.

The next occasion he had and took to shew his great Abilities, was, with them, to shew also his great affection to that Church in which he received his Baptism, and of which he profest himself a member; and the occasion was this: There was one Andrew Melvin, a Minister of the Scotch Church, and Rector of St. Andrews; who, by a long and constant Converse, with a discontented part of that Clergy which oppos'd Episcopacy, became at last to be a chief leader of that Faction: and, had proudly appear'd to be so, to King James, when he was but King of that Nation, who the second year after his Coronation in England, conven'd a part of the Bisbons and other Learned Divines of his Church, to attend him at Hampton-Court, in order to a friendly Conference with some Dissenting Brethren, both of this, and the Church of Scotland: of which Scotch party, Andrew Melvin was one; and, he being a man of learning, and inclin'd to Satyrical Poetry, had scatter'd many malicious bitter Verses against our Liturey, our Ceremonies, and our Church-government: which were by some of that party, so magnified for the wit, that they were therefore brought into Westminster-School, where Mr. George Herbert then, and often after, made such answers to them, and such reflexion on him and his Kirk, as might unbeguile any man that was not too deeply pre-ingaged in such a quarrel.-But to return to Mr. Melvin at Hampton Court Conference, he there appear'd to be a man of an unruly wit, of a strange confidence, of so furious a Zeal, and of so ungovern'd passions, that his insolence to the King, and others at this conference, lost him both his Rectorship of St. Andrews, and his liberty too: for, his former Verses, and his present reproaches there used against the Church and State, caus'd him to be committed prisoner to the Tower of London: where he remained very angry for three years. At which time of his commitment, he found the Lady Arabella an innocent prisoner there;

and he pleas'd himself much in sending the next day after his Commitment, these two Verses to the good Lady, which I will underwrite, because they may give the Reader a taste of his others, which were like these.

> Causa tibi mecum est communis, Carceris, Ara-Bella; tibi causa est, Araque sacra mibi.

I shall not trouble my Reader with an account of his enlargement from that Prison, or his Death; but tell him, Mr. Herberts Verses were thought so worthy to be preserv'd, that Dr. Duport the learned Dean of Peterborough, hath lately collected, and caus'd many of them to be printed, as an honourable memorial of his friend Mr. George Herbert, and the Cause he undertook.

And, in order to my third and last observation of his great Abilities, it will be needful to declare, that about this time King James came very often to hunt at New-Market and Royston; and was almost as often invited to Cambridge, where his entertainment was Comedies suted to his pleasant humor; and where Mr. George Herbert was to welcome him with Gratulations, and the Applauses of an Orator; which he alwaies perform'd so well, that he still grew more into the Kings favour, insomuch, that he had a particular appointment to attend His Majesty at Royston, where after a Discourse with him, His Majesty declar'd to his Kinsman, the Earl of Pembroke, 'That he found the 'Orators learning and wisdom, much above his age or wit. The year following, the King appointed to end His progress at Cambridge, and to stay there certain days; at which time, he was attended by the great Secretary of Nature, and all Learning, Sir Francis Bacon (Lord Verulam) and by the ever memorable and learned Dr. Andrews Bishop of Winchester, both which did at that time begin a desir'd friendship with our Orator. Upon whom, the first put such a value on his judgment, that he usually desir'd his approbation, before he would expose any of his Books to be printed, and thought him so worthy of his friendship, that having translated many of the Prophet Davids Psalms into English Verse, he made George Herbert his Patron, by a publick dedication of them to him, as the best Judge of Divine Poetry. And for the

learned Bishop, it is observable, that at that time, there fell to be a modest debate betwixt them two about Predestination, and Santitly of life; of both which, the Orator did not long after send the Bishop some safe and useful Aphoritms, in a long Letter written in Greek; which Letter was so remarkable for the language, and reason of it, that after the reading it, the Bishop put it into his bosom, and did often shew it to many Scholars, both of this, and forreign Nations; but did alwaies return it back to the place where hefirst lodg'd it, and continu'd it so near his heart, till the last day of his life.

To these, I might add the long and intire friendship betwixt him and Sir Henry Wotton, and Doctor Donne, but I have promis'd to contract my self, and shall therefore only add one testimony to what is also mentioned in the Life of Doctor Donne; namely, that a little before his death, he caused many Scals to be made, and in them to be ingraven the figure of Christ eneighed on an Anchor (the emblem of hope) and of which Doctor Donne would often say, Crux milis Anchora.—These Seals, he gave or sent to most of those friends on which he put a value; and, at Mr. Herberts death, these Verses were found wrapt up with that Seal which was by the Doctor given to him.

When my dear Friend could write no more, He gave this Seal, and so gave ore.

When winds and waves rise highest, I am sure, This Anchor keeps my faith, that me secure.

At this time of being Orator, he had learnt to understand the Italian, Spanish, and French Tongues very perfectly; hoping, that as his Predecessors, so he might in time attain the place of a Secretary of State, he being at that time very high in the Kings favour; and not meanly valued and lov'd by the most eminent and most powerful of the Court-Nobility: This, and the love of a Court-conversation mixt with a laudible ambition to be something more than he then was, drew him often from Cambridge to attend the King wheresoever the Court was, who then gave him a Sine Cure, which fell into his Majesties disposal, I think, by the death of the Bishop of St. Asaph. It was the same, that Queen Elizabeth had formerly given to her Favourite Sir Philip Sidney;

and valued to be worth an hundred and twenty pound per Annum.
With this, and his Annuity, and the advantage of his Colledge, and
of his Oratorship, he enjoyed his gentile humor for cloaths, and Courtlike company, and seldom look'd towards Cambridge, unless the King
were there, but then he never fail'd; and, at other times, left the manage
of his Orators place, to his learned friend Mr. Herbert Thorndike, who
is now Prebend of Westminster.

I may not omit to tell, that he had often design'd to leave the University, and decline all Study, which he thought did impair his health; for he had a body apt to a Consumption, and to Fevers, and other infirmities which he judg'd were increas'd by his Studies; for he would often say, 'He had too thoughtful a Wit: a Wit, like a Pen-knife in 'too narrow a sheath, too sharp for his Body: Buthis Mother would by no means allow him to leave the University, or to travel; and, though he inclin'd very much to both, yet he would by no means satisfie his enclin'd very much to both, yet he would by no means satisfie his offectionate a Mother; but did always submit to her wisdom. And what I have now said, may partly appear in a Copy of Verses in his printed Poems; 'tis one of those that bears the title of Affliction: And it appears to be a pious reflection on Gods providence, and some passages of his life, in which he saies,

Whereas my birth and spirit rather took
The way that takes the Town:
Thou dists betray me to a lingring Book,
And wrap me in a Gown:
I was intangled in a World of strife,
Before I had the power to change my life.

Yet, for I threatned oft the Siege to raise,
Not simpring all mine age:
Thou often didst with Academick praise,
Melt, and dissolve my rage:
I took the sweetned Pill, till I came where
I could not go away, nor persevere.

Yet, least perchance, I should too happy be In my unbappiness;

Turning my purge to food, thou throwest me Into more sicknesses.

Thus doth thy power Cross-byass me, not making Thine own gifts good; yet, me from my ways taking.

Now I am here, what thou wilt do with me
None of my Books will shew:
I read, and sigh, and with I were a Tree,
For then sure I should grow
To fruit or shade, at least, some Bird would trust
Her Howshold with me, and I would be just.

Yet, though thou troublest me, I must be meek; In weakness must be stout: Well, I will change my service, and go seek

Some other Master out:

Ab my dear God! though I am clean forgot,
Let me not love thee, if I love thee not.

G. H.

In this time of Mr. Herberts attendance and expectation of some good occasion to remove from Cambridge, to Court; God, in whom there is an unseen Chain of Causes, did in a short time put an end to the lives of two of his most obliging and most powerful friends, Lodowick Duke of Richmond, and James Marquess of Hamilton; and not long after him, King James died also, and with them, all Mr. Herbert's Court-hopes: So that he presently betook himself to a Retreat from London, to a Friend in Kent, where he liv'd very privately, and was such a lover of solitariness, as was judg'd to impair his health, more then his Study had done. In this time of Retirement, he had many Conflicts with himself, Whether he should return to the painted pleasures of a Court-life, or betake himself to a study of Divinity, and enter into Sacred Orders? (to which his dear Mother had often persuaded him.) These were such Conflicts, as they only can know, that

have endur'd them; for ambitious Desires, and the outward Glory of this World, are not easily laid aside; but, at last, God inclin'd him to put on a resolution to serve at his Altar.

He did at his return to London, acquaint a Court-friend with his resolution to enter into Sacred Orders, who persuaded him to alter it, as too mean an employment, and too much below his birth, and the excellent abilities and endowments of his mind. To whom he replied, 'It hath been formerly judged that the Domestick Servants of the King of Heaven, should be of the noblest Families on Earth: and, though the Iniquity of the late Times have made Clergy-men meanly valued, and the sacred name of Priest contemptible; yet I will labour to make it honourable, by consecrating all my learning, and all my poor abilities, to advance the glory of that God that gave them; knowing, that I can never do too much for him, that hath done so much for me, as to make me a Christian. And I will labour to be like my Saviour, by making Humility lovely in the eyes of all men, and by following the merciful and meek example of my dear Jesus.

This was then his resolution, and the God of Constancy, who intended him for a great example of vertue, continued him in it; for within that year he was made Deacon, but the day when, or by whom, I cannot learn; but that he was about that time made Deacon, is most certain; for I find by the Records of Lincoln, that he was made Prebend of Layton Ecclesia, in the Diocess of Lincoln, July 15, 1626. and that this Prebend was given him, by John, then Lord Bishop of that See. And now, he had a fit occasion to shew that Piety and Bounty that was deriv'd from his generous Mother, and his other memorable Ancestors, and the occasion was this.

This Layton Ecclesia, is a Village near to Spalden in the County of Huntington, and the greatest part of the Parish Church was fallen down, and that of it which stood, was so decayed, so little, and so useless, that the Parishioners could not meet to perform their Duty to God in publick prayer and praises; and thus it had been for almost 20 years, in which time there had been some faint endeavours for a publick Collection, to enable the Parishioners to rebuild it, but with no success, till Mr. Herbert undectook it; and he, by his own, and the

contribution of many of his Kindred, and other noble Friends, undertook the Re-edification of it; and made it so much his whole business,
that he became restless, till he saw it finisht as it now stands; being,
for the workmanship, a costly Mosaick: for the form, an exact Cross;
and for the decency and beauty, I am assur'd it is the most remarkable
Parish-Church, that this Nation affords. He lived to see it so wainscoated, as to be exceeded by none; and, by his order, the Reading
Pew, and Pulpit, were a little distant from each other, and both of an
equal height; for he would often say, 'They should neither have a pre'eedency or priority of the other: but that Proper and Preaching being
'equally useful, might agree like Brethren, and have an equal honour
'and estimation.

Before I proceed farther, I must look back to the time of Mr. Herberts being made Prebend, and tell the Reader, that not long after, his Mother being inform'd of his intentions to Re-build that Church: and apprehending the great trouble and charge that he was like to draw upon himself, his Relations, and Friends, before it could be finisht; sent for him from London to Chelsey (where she then dwelt) and at his coming, said-George, I sent for you, to perswade you to commit Simony, by giving your Patron as good a gift as he has eiven to you; namely, that you give him back his Prebend; for, George, 'it is not for your weak body, and empty purse, to undertake to build 'Churches. Of which, he desir'd he might have a Days time to consider, and then make her an Answer: And at his return to her the next Day, when he had first desired her blessing, and she given it him, his next request was, 'That she would at the Age of Thirty three 'Years, allow him to become an undutiful Son; for he had made a Vow 'to God, that if he were able, he would Re-build that Church: And then, shew'd her such reasons for his resolution, that she presently subscribed to be one of his Benefactors: and undertook to sollicit William Earl of Pembroke to become another, who subscribed for fifty pounds; and not long after, by a witty, and persuasive Letter from Mr. Herbert, made it fifty pounds more. And in this nomination of some of his Benefactors, James Duke of Lenox, and his brother Sir Henry Herbert, ought to be remembred; as also, the bounty of Mr. Nicholas Farrer, and

Mr. Arthur Woodnot; the one, a Gentleman in the Neighbourhood of Layton, and the other, a Goldsmith in Foster-lane, London, ought not to be forgotten: for the memory of such men ought to out-live their lives. Of Master Farrer, I shall hereafter give an account in a more seasonable place; but before I proceed farther, I will give this short account of Master Arthur Woodnot.

He was a man, that had consider'd, overgrown Estates do often require more care and watchfulness to preserve, than get them, and consider'd that there be many Discontents, that Riches cure not; and did therefore set limits to himself as to desire of wealth: And having attain'd so much as to be able to shew some mercy to the Poor, and preserve a competence for himself, he dedicated the remaining part of his life to the service of God; and to be useful for his Friends; and he prov'd to be so to Mr. Herbert; for, beside his own bounty, he collected and return'd most of the money that was paid for the Re-building of that Church; he kept all the account of the charges, and would often go down to state them, and see all the Workmen paid. When I have said, that this good man was a useful Friend to Mr. Herberts Father, and to his Mother, and continued to be so to him, till he clos'd his eyes on his Death-bed; I will forbear to say more, till I have the next fair occasion to mention the holy friendship that was betwixt him and Mr. Herbert. - From whom Mr. Woodnot carryed to his Mother this following Letter, and delivered it to her in a sickness which was not long before that which prov'd to be her last.

A Letter of Mr. George Herbert to his Mother, in her Sickness. MADAM.

At my last parting from you, I was the better content because I was in hope I should my self carry all sickness out of your family: but, since I know I did not, and that your share continues, or rather increaseth, I wish earnestly that I were again with you: and would quickly make good my wish, but that my employment does fix me here, it being now but a month to our Commencement: wherein, my absence by how much it naturally augmented suspicion, by so much shall it make my prayers the more constant and the more earnest for you

to the God of all Consolation .- In the mean time, I beseech you to be chearful, and comfort your self in the God of all Comfort, who is not willing to behold any sorrow but for sin .- What hath Affliction grievous in it more then for a moment? or why should our afflictions here, have so much power or boldness as to oppose the hope of our Joys hereafter?- Madam! As the Earth is but a point in respect of the beavens, so are earthly Troubles compar'd to heavenly Toys: therefore, if either Age or Sickness lead you to those Toys? consider what advantage you have over Youth and Health, who are now so near those true Comforts .- Your last Letter gave me Earthly preferment, and I hove kept Heavenly for your self: but, wou'd you divide and choose too? our Colledge Customs allow not that, and I shou'd account my self most happy if I might change with you; for, I have always observ'd the thred of Life to be like other threds or skenes of silk, full of snarles and incumbrances: Happy is be, whose bottom is wound up and laid ready for work in the New Jerusalem. -For my self, dear Mother, I alwaies fear'd sickness more then death, because sickness bath made me unable to verform those Offices for which I came into the world, and must vet be kept in it; but you are freed from that fear, who have already abundantly discharged that part, having both ordered your Family, and so brought up your Children that they have attain'd to the years of Discretion, and competent Maintenance. - So that now if they do not well the fault cannot be charg'd on you, whose Example and Care of them, will justifie you both to the world and your own Conscience: insomuch, that whether you turn your thoughts on the life past, or on the Joys that are to come, you have strong preservatives against all disquiet.—And for temporal Afflictions: I beseech you consider all that can happen to you, are either afflictions of Estate, or Body, or Mind .- For those of Estate, of what poor regard ought they to be, since if we had Riches we are commanded to give them away: so that the best use of them is, baving, not to have them .- But perhaps being above the Common people, our Credit and estimation calls on us to live in a more splendid fashion?-but, O God! how easily is that answered, when we consider that the Blessings in the holy Scripture, are never given to the rich, but to the poor. I never find Blessed be the Rich; or, Blessed be the Noble; but, Blessed be the Meek, and, Blessed be the poor, and, Blessed be the Mourners, for they shall be comforted --- And yet, Ob God! most carry themselves so, as if they not only not desir'd, but even fear'd to be blessed .- And for Afflic-

tions of the Body, dear Madam, remember the boly Martyrs of God, bow they have been burnt by thousands, and have endur'd such other Tortures, as the very mention of them might beget amazement; but their Fiery-trials bave had an end: and yours (which praised be God are less) are not like to continue long. - I beseech you let such thoughts as these, moderate your present fear and sorrow; and know, that if any of yours shou'd prove a Coliah like trouble, yet you may say with David, -That God who hath delivered me out of the paws of the Lion and Bear, will also deliver me out of the hands of this uncircumcised Philistin .- Lastly, for those Afflictions of the Soul: consider, that God intends that to be as a sacred Temple for himself to dwell in, and will not allow any room there for such an in-mate as Grief; or allow that any sadness shall be his Competitor .- And above all, If any care of future things molest you? remember those admirable words of the Psalmist: Cast thy Care on the Lord and he shall nourish thee. To which join that of St. Peter, Casting all your Care on the Lord, for he careth for you.2 - What an admirable thing is this, that God puts his shoulder to our burthen! and, entertains our Care for us that we may the more quietly intend his service. To Conclude, Let me commend only one place more to you (Philip. 4. 4.) St. Paul saith there: Rejoice in the Lord alwaies, and again I say rejoice. He doubles it to take away the scruple of those that might say, What shall we rejoice in afflictions? yes, I say again rejoice; so that it is not left to us to rejoice or not rejoice: but whatsoever befalls us we must always, at all times rejoice in the Lord, who taketh care for us: and it follows in the next verse: Let your moderation appear to all men, the Lord is at hand: be careful for nothing. What can be said more comfortably? trouble not your selves, God is at hand to deliver us from all, or in all.-Dear Madam, pardon my boldness, and accept the good meaning of,

Trin. Col. Your most obedient Son.

May 25. Your most obedien

George Herbert.

About the year 1629. and the 34th of his Age, Mr. Herbert was seiz'd with a sharp Quotidian Ague, and thought to remove it by the

¹ Psal. 55. ² I Pet. 5. 7.

change of Air: to which end, he went to Woodford in Essex, but thither more chiefly, to enjoy the company of his beloved Brother Sir Henry Herbert, and other Friends then of that Family. In his House he remain'd about Twelve Months, and there became his own Physitian, and cur'd himself of his Ague, by forbearing Drink, and not eating any Meat, no not Mutton, nor a Hen, or Pidgeon, unless they were salted; and by such a constant Dyet, he remov'd his Ague, but with inconveniencies that were worse; for he brought upon himself a disposition to Rheums, and other weaknesses, and a supposed Consumption. And it is to be Noted, that in the sharpest of his extream Fits, he would often say, Lord abate my great affliction, or increase my patience: but, Lord, I revine not, I am dumb, Lord, before thee, because thou doest it. By which, and a sanctified submission to the Will of God, he shewed he was inclinable to bear the sweet yoke of Christian Discipline, both then, and in the latter part of his life, of which there will be many true Testimonies.

And now his care was to recover from his Consumption by a change, from Woodford into such an air as was most proper to that end. And his remove was to Dantsey in Wiltshire, a noble House which stands in a choice Air; the owner of it then was the Lord Danuers Earl of Danby, who lov'd Mr. Herbert so very much, that he allow'd him such an apartment in it, as might best sute with his accommodation and liking. And, in this place, by a spare Dyet, declining all perplexing Studies, moderate exercise, and a chearful conversation, his health was apparently improved to a good degree of strength and chearfulness: And then, he declar'd his resolution both to marry, and to enter into the Sacred Orders of Priesthood. These had long been the desires of his Mother, and his other Relations; but she liv'd not to see either, for she died in the year 1627. And, though he was disobedient to her about Layton Church, yet, in conformity to her will, he kept his Orators place, till after her death; and then presently declin'd it: And, the more willingly, that he might be succeeded by his friend Robert Creighton, who now is Dr. Creighton, and the worthy Bishop of Wells.

I shall now proceed to his Marriage; in order to which, it will be

convenient, that I first give the Readet a short view of his person, and then an account of his Wife, and of some circumstances concerning both.—He was for his person of a stature inclining towards Tallness; his Body was very strait, and so far from being cumbred with so much flesh, that he was lean to an extremity. His aspect was chearful, and his speech and motion did both declare him a Gentleman; for they were all so meek and obliging, that they purchased love and respect from all that knew him.

These, and his other visible vertues, begot him much love from a Gentleman, of a Noble fortune, and a near kinsman to his friend the Earl of Danby; namely, from Mr. Cbarles Danuers of Bainton, in the County of Wilts Esq; this Mr. Danuers having known him long, and familiarly, did so much affect him, that he often and publickly declar'd a desire that Mr. Herbert would marry any of his Nine Daughters (for he had so many) but rather his Daughter Jane, than any other, because Jane was his beloved Daughters And he had often said the same to Mr. Herbert himself; and that if he could like her for a Wife, and she him for a Husband, Jane should have a double blessing: and Mr. Danuers had so often said the like to Jane, and so much commended Mr. Herbert to her, that Jane became so much a Platonick, as to fall in love with Mr. Herbert unseen.

This was a fair preparation for a Marriage; but alas, her father died before Mr. Herberts retirement to Danteey; yet some friends to both parties, procur'd their meeting; at which time a mutual affection entred into both their hearts, as a Conqueror enters into a surprized City, and Love having got such possession govern'd, and made there such Laws and Resolutions, as neither party was able to resist; insomuch, that she chang'd her name into Herbert, the third day after this first interview.

This haste might in others be thought a Love-phrensie, or worse: but it was not; for they had wooed so like Princes, as to have select Proxies: such, as were true friends to both parties; such as well understood Mr. Herberts, and her temper of mind; and also their Estates so well, before this Interview, that, the suddenness was justifiable, by the strictest Rules of prudence: And the more, because it prov'd so happy to both parties; for the eternal lover of Mankind, made them happy

in each others mutual and equal affections, and compliance; indeed, so happy, that there never was any opposition betwixt them, unless it were a Contest which should most incline to a compliance with the others desires. And though this begot, and continued in them, such a mutual love and joy, and content, as was no way defective: yet this mutual content and love, and joy, did receive a daily augmentation, by such daily obligingness to each other, as still added such new affluences to the former fulness of these divine Souls, as was only improvable in Heaven, where they now enjoy it.

About three months after his Marriage, Dr. Curle, who was then Rector of Bemerton in Wiltshire, was made Bishop of Bath and Wells (and not long after translated to Winchester, and by that means the presentation of a Clerk to Bemerton, did not fall to the Earl of Pembroke (who was the undoubted Patron of it) but to the King, by reason of Dr. Curles advancement: but Philip, then Earl of Pembroke (for William was lately dead) requested the King to bestow it upon his kinsman George Herbert; and the King said, Most willingly to Mr. Herbert, if it be worth his acceptance: and the Earl as willingly and suddenly sent it him, without seeking; but though Mr. Herbert had formerly put on a resolution for the Clergy: yet, at receiving this presentation, the apprehension of the last great Account that he was to make for the Cure of so many Souls, made him fast and pray often, and consider, for not less than a month: in which time he had some resolutions to decline both the Priesthood, and that Living. And in this time of considering, He endur'd (as he would often say) such spiritual Conflicts, as none can think, but only those that have endur'd them.

In the midst of these Conflicts, his old and dear friend Mr. Arthur Woodnot, took a journey to salute him at Bainton (where he then was with his Wives Friends and Relations) and was joyful to be an Eyewitness of his Health, and happy Marriage. And after they had rejoyc'd together some few days, they took a Journey to Wilton, the famous Seat of the Earls of Pembroke; at which time, the King, the Earl, and the whole Court were there, or at Salisbury, which is near to it. And at this time Mr. Herbert presented his Thanks to the Earl, for his presentation to Bemerton, but had not yet resolv'd to accept it,

and told him the reason why; but that Night, the Earl acquainted Dr. Land, then Bishop of London, and after Archbishop of Canterbury, with his Kinsmans irresolution. And the Bishop did the next day so convince Mr. Herbert, That the refusal of it was a sin; that a Taylor was sent for to come speedily from Salisbury to Wilton, to take measure, and make him Canonical Cloaths, against next day: which the Taylor did; and Mr. Herbert being so habited, went with his presentation to the learned Dr. Davenant, who was then Bishop of Salisbury, and he gave him Institution immediately (for Mr. Herbert had been made Deacon some years before) and he was also the same day (which was April 26. 1630) inducted into the good, and more pleasant, than healthful Parsonage of Bemerton: which is a Mile from Salisbury.

I have now Brought him to the Parsonage of Bemerton, and to the thirty sixth Year of his Age, and must stop here, and hespeak the Reader to prepare for an almost incredible story, of the great sanctity of the short remainder of his boly life; a life so full of Charity, Humility, and all Christian wertues, that it deserves the eloquence of St. Chrysostom to commend and declare it! A life, that if it were related by a Pen like his, there would then be no need for this Age to look back into times past for the examples of primitive piety: for they might be all found in the life of George Herbert. But now, alas! who is fit to undertake it! I confess I am not: and am not pleas' d with my self that I must; and profess my self amaz' d, when I consider how few of the Clergy liv'd like him them, and how many live so milke him now: But, it becomes not me to censure: my design is rather to assure the Reader, that I have used very great diligence to inform my self, that I might inform him of the truth of what follows; and though I cannot adorn it with eloquence, yet I will do it with sincerity.

When at his Induction he was shut into Bemerton Church, being left there alone to Toll the Bell, (as the Law requires him!) he staid so much longer than an ordinary time, before he return'd to those Friends that staid expecting him at the Church-door, that his Friend, Mr. Woodnot, look'd in at the Church-window, and saw him lie prostate on the ground before the Altari at which time and place (as he after told Mr. Woodnot) he sets some Rules to himself, for the future manage of his life; and then and there made a vow, to labour to keep them.

And the same night that he had his Induction, he said to Mr. Woodnot, I now look back upon my aspiring thoughts, and think my self more happy than if I had attain'd what then I so ambitiously thirsted for: And, I can now behold the Court with an impartial Eve, and see plainly, that it is made up of Fraud, and Titles, and Flattery, and many other such empty, imaginary painted Pleasures: Pleasures, that are so empty, as not to satisfy when they are enjoy'd; but in God and his service, is a fulness of all joy and pleasure, and no satiety: And I will now use all my endeavours to bring my Relations and Dependants to a love and relyance on him, who never fails those that trust him. But above all, I will be sure to live well, because the vertuous life of a Clergyman, is the most powerful eloquence to perswade all that see it, to reverence and love, and at least, to desire to live like him. And this I will do. because I know we live in an Age that hath more need of good examples, than precepts. And I beseech that God, who hath honour'd me so much as to call me to serve him at his Altar: that as by his special grace be bath put into my heart these good desires, and resolutions; so, he will by his assisting grace give me ghostly strength to bring the same to good effect; and I beseech him that my bumble and charitable life may so win upon others, as to bring glory to my JESUS, whom I have this day taken to be my Master and Governour; and I am so proud of his service, that I will alwaies observe, and obey, and do his Will; and alwaies call him Jesus my Master, and I will alwayes contemn my birth, or any title or dignity that can be conferr'd upon me, when I shall compare them with my title of being a Priest, and serving at the Altar of Jesus my Master.

And that he did so, may appear in many parts of his Book of Sacred Poems; especially, in that which he calls the Odour. In which he seems to rejoyce in the thoughts of that word Jesus, and say that the adding these words my Master to it, and the often repetition of them, seem'd to perfume his mind, and leave an oriental fragrancy in his very breath. And for his unforc'd choice to serve at Gods Altar, he seems in another place of his Poems (the Pearl, Math. 13.) to rejoyce and say—He knew the waits of Learning: knew, what nature does willingly; and what, when 'tis fore'd by fire: knew the waits of honour, and when glory inclines the Soul to noble expressions: knew the Court: knew the waits of pleasure, of love, of wit, of musick, and upon what terms he declined

all these for the service of his Master JESUS, and then concludes, saying,

That, through these Labyrinths, not my groweling Wit, But thy Silk-twist, let down from Heaven to me; Did both conduct, and teach me, how by it, To climb to thee.

The third day after he was made Rector of Bemerton, and had chang'd his sword and silk Cloaths into a Canonical Coat; he return'd so habited with his friend Mr. Woodnot to Bainton: And, immediately after he had seen and saluted his Wife, he said to het-You are now a Ministers Wife, and must now so far forget your fathers house, as not to claim a precedence of any of your Parisbioners; for you are to know, that a Priests Wife can challenge no precedence or place, but that which she purchases by her obliging humility; and, I am sure, places so purchased, do best become them. And let me tell you, That I am so good a Herald, as to assure you that this is truth. And she was so meek a Wife, as to assure him it was no vexing News to her, and that he should see her observe it with a chearful willingness. And indeed her unfore'd humility, that humility that was in her so original, as to be born with her, made her so happy as to do so; and her doing so, begot her an unfeigned love, and a serviceable respect from all that converst with her; and this love followed her in all places, as inseparably, as shadows follow substances in Sunshine.

It was not many days before he return'd back to Bemerton, to view the Church, and repair the Chancel; and indeed, to rebuild almost three parts of his house which was fall'n down, or decayed by reason of his Predecessors living at a better Parsonage-house; namely, at Minal, 16 or 20 miles from this place. At which time of Mr. Herberts coming alone to Bemerton, there came to him a poor old Woman, with an intent to acquaint him with her necessitous condition, as also, with some troubles of her mind; but after she had spoke some few words to him, she was surpriz'd with a fear, and that begot a shortness of breath, so that her spirits and speech fail'd her; which he perceiving, did so compassionate her, and was so humble, that he took her by the hand, and said, Speek good Mother, be not afraid to speek to me; for I

am a man that will bear you with patience; and will relieve your necessities too, if I be able: and this I will do willingly, and therefore, Mother, be not afraid to acquaint me with what you desire. After which comfortable speech, he again took her by the hand, made her sit down by him, & understanding she was of his Parish, he told her, He would be are quainted with ber, and take ber into his care: And having with patience heard and understood her wants (and it is some relief for a poor body to be but hear'd with patience) he like a Christian Clergyman comforted her by his meek behaviour and counsel; but because that cost him nothing, he reliev'd her with money too, and so sent her home with a chearful heart, praising God, and praying for him. Thus worthy, and (like Davids blessed man) thus lowly, was Mr. George Herbert in his own eyes: and thus lovely in the eyes of others.

At his return that Night to his Wife at Bainton, he gave her an account of the passages' twixt him and the poor Woman: with which she was so affected, that she went next day to Salisbury, and there bought a pair of Blankets and sent them as a Token of her love to the poor Woman: and with them a Message, That she would see and be acquainted with ber, when her bouse was built at Bemerton.

There be many such passages both of him and his Wife, of which some few will be related; but I shall first tell, that he hasted to get the Parish-Church repair'd; then, to beautifie the Chappel (which stands near his House) and that at his own great charge. He then proceeded to re-build the greatest part of the Parsonage-house, which he did also very compleatly, and at his own charge; and having done this good work, he caus'd these Verses to be writ upon, or ingraven in the Mantle of the Chimney in his Hall.

To my Successor.

If thou chance for to find
A new House to thy mind,
And built without thy Cost:
Be good to the Poor,
As God gives thee store,
And them, my Lobour's not lost.

We will now by the Readers favour suppose him fixt at Bemerton, and grant him to have seen the Church repair'd, and the Chappel belonging to it very decently adort d, at his own great charge (which is a real Truth) and having now fixt him there, I shall proceed to give an account of the rest of his behaviour both to his Parishioners, and those many others that knew and convers'd with him.

Doubless Mr. Herbert had consider'd and given Rules to himself for his Christian carriage both to God and man before he enter'd into Holy Orders. And 'tis not unlike, but that he renewed those resolutions at his prostration before the Holy Alar, at his Induction into the Church of Bemerton; but as yet he was but a Deacon, and therefore long'd for the next Embersweek, that he might be ordain'd Priest, and made capable of Administring both the Sacraments. At which time, the Reverend Dr. Humphrey Hinchman, now Lord Bishop of London (who does not mention him, but with some veneration for his life and excellent learning) tells me, He laid bit band on Mr. Herberts Head, and (alas!) within less then three Years, lent bis Shoulder to carry bis deer Friend to bit Grave.

And that Mr. Herbert might the better preserve those holy Rules which such a Priest as he intended to be, ought to observe; and that time might not insensibly blot them out of his memory, but that the next year might shew him his variations from this years resolutions; he therefore did set down his Rules, then resolv'd upon, in that order, as the World now sees them printed in a little Book, call'd, The Countrey Parson, in which some of his Rules are:

The Parsons Knowledge.
The Parson on Sundays.
The Parson Praying.
The Parson Preaching.
The Parsons Charity.
The Parsons Charity.
The Parson conforting the Sick.
The Parson Blessing the People.

And his behaviour toward God and man, may be said to be a practical Comment on these, and the other holy Rules set down in that useful

Book. A Book, so full of plain, prudent and useful Rules, that that Countrey Parson, that can spare 12 d. and yet wants it, is scarce excusable; because it will both direct him what he ought to do, and convince him for not having done it.

At the Death of Mr. Herbert, this Book fell into the hands of his friend Mr. Woodnot; and he commended it into the trusty hands of Mr. Barnabas Oly, who publisht it with a most conscientious, and excellent Preface; from which I have had some of those Truths, that are related in this life of Mr. Herbert. The Text for his first Sermon was taken out of Solomons Proverbs, and the words were. Keen thy heart with all diligence. In which first Sermon, he gave his Parishioners many necessary, holy, safe Rules for the discharge of a good Conscience, both to God and man. And deliver'd his Sermon after a most florid manner; both with great learning and eloquence. But at the close of this Sermon, told them, That should not be his constant way of Preaching, for, since Almighty God does not intend to lead men to beaven by bard Questions, be would not therefore fill their heads with unnecessary Notions; but that for their sakes, his language and his expressions should be more plain and practical in his future Sermons. And he then made it his humble request, That they would be constant to the Afternoons Service, and Catechising. And shewed them convincing reasons why he desir'd it; and his obliging example and perswasions brought them to a willing conformity to his desires.

The Texts for all his future Sermons (which God knows were not many) were constantly taken out of the Gospel for the day; and, he did as constantly declare why the Church did appoint that portion of Scripture to be that day read: And in what manner the Collect for every Sunday does refer to the Gospel, or to the Epistle then read to them; and, that they might pray with understanding, he did usually take occasion to explain, not only the Collect for every particular Sunday, but the reasons of all the other Collects and Responses in our Church-Service; and, made it appear to them, that the whole Service of the Church, was a reasonable, and therefore an acceptable Sacrifice to God; as namely, that we begin with Confession of our selves to be vile, miserable sinners: and that we begin so, because till we have confess'd

our selves to be such, we are not capable of that mercy which we acknowledge we need, and pray for; but having in the prayer of our Lord, begg'd pardon for those sins which we have confest. And hoping, that as the Priest hath declar'd our Absolution, so by our publick Confession, and real Repentance, we have obtain'd that pardon: Then we date and do proceed to beg of the Lord, to open our lips, that our months may show forth his praire, for, till then, we are neither able, nor worthy to praise him. But this being suppos'd, we are then fit to say, Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost; and fit to proceed to a further service of our God, in the Collects, and Psalms, and Lands that follow in the Service.

And as to these Psalms and Lauds, he proceeded to inform them, why they were so often, and some of them daily repeated in our Church-service: namely, the Psalms every Month, because they be an Historical and thankful repetition of mercies past; and such a composition of prayers and praises, as ought to be repeated often, and publickly; for with such Sacrifices, God is bonour'd, and well-pleased. This, for the Psalms.

And for the Hymns and Lauds, appointed to be daily repeated or sung after the first and second Lessons are read to the Congregation: he proceeded to inform them, that it was most reasonable, after they have heard the will and goodness of God declar'd or preach't by the Priest in his reading the two Chapters, that it was then a seasonable duty to rise up and express their gratitude to Almighty God for those his mercies to them, and to all Mankind; and then to say with the blessed Virgin, That their Souls do magnifie the Lord, and that their spirits do also rejoyce in God their Saviour; And that it was their Duty also to rejoice with Simeon in his Song, and say with him, That their eyes have also seen their salvation; for they have seen that salvation which was but prophesied till his time: and he then broke out into those expressions of joy that he did see it: but they live to see it daily, in the History of it, and therefore ought daily to rejoice, and daily to offer up their Sacrifices of praise to their God, for that particular mercy. A service, which is now the constant employment of that blessed Virgin, and Simeon, and all those blessed Saints that are possest of Heaven: and where they are at this time interchangeably and constantly sing-

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ing, Holy, Holy, Holy Lord God, Glory be to God on High, and on Earth peace.—And he taught them, that to do this, was an acceptable service to God, because the Prophet David says in his Psalms, He that praiseth the Lord, honoureth bim.

He made them to understand, how happy they be that are freed from the incumbrances of that Law which our Fore-fathers groan'd under: namely, from the Legal Sacrifices; and from the many Ceremonies of the Levitical Law: freed from Circumcision, and from the strict observation of the Jewish Sabbath, and the like: And he made them know that having receiv'd so many, and so great blessings, by being born since the days of our Saviour, it must be an acceptable Sacrifice to Almighty God, for them to acknowledge those blessings daily, and stand up and worship, and say as Zacharias did, Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, for he hath (in our days) visited and redeemed his people; and (he hath in our days) remembred, and shewed that mercy which by the mouth of the Prophets, he promised to our Fore-fathers: and this he hath done, according to his holy Covenant made with them: And he made them to understand that we live to see and enjoy the benefit of it, in his Birth, in his Life, his Passion, his Resurrection and Ascension into Heaven, where he now sits sensible of all our temptations and infirmities; and, where he is at this present time making intercession for us, to his and our Father: and therefore they ought daily to express their publick gratulations, and say daily with Zacharias, Blessed be that Lord God of Israel, that hath thus visited, and thus redeemed his people. These were some of the reasons by which Mr. Herbert instructed his Congregation for the use of the Psalms, and the Hymns appointed to be daily sung or said in the Church/service.

He inform'd them also, when the Priest did pray only for the Congregation, and not for himself; and when they did only pray for him, as namely, after the repetition of the Creed, before he proceeds to pray the Lords prayer, or any of the appointed Collects, the Priest is directed to kneel down, and pray for them, saying—The Lord be with you—And when they pray for him, saying—And with thy spirit, and then they join together in the following Collects, and he assur'd them, that when there is such mutual love, and such joint prayers

offer'd for each other, then the holy Angels look down from Heaven, and are ready to carry such charitable desires to God Almighty; and he as ready to receive them; and that a Christian Congregation calling thus upon God, with one heart, and one voice, and in one reverend and humble posture, look as beautifully as Jerusalem, that is at peace with it self.

He instructed them also, why the prayer of our Lord was pray'd often in every full service of the Church: namely, at the conclusion of the several parts of that Service; and pray'd then, not only because it was compos'd and commanded by our Jesus that made it, but as a perfect pattern for our less perfect Forms of prayer, and therefore fittest to sum up and conclude all our imperfect Pettions.

He instructed them also, that as by the second Commandment we are requir'd not to bow down, or worship an Idol, or false God; so, by the contrary Rule, we are to bow down and kneel, or stand up and worship the true God. And he instructed them, why the Church requir'd the Congregation to stand up, at the repetition of the Creeds; namely, because they did thereby declare both their obedience to the Church, and an assent to that faith into which they had been baptiz'd. And he taught them, that in that shorter Creed, or Doxology so often repeated daily; they also stood up to testify their belief to be, that, the God that they trusted in was one God, and three persons; the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, to whom they & the Priest gave glory: And because there had been Hereticks that had deny'd some of these three persons to be God; therefore the Congregation stood up and honour'd him, by confessing and saying, It was so in the beginning, is now so, and shall ever be so World without end. And all gave their assent to this belief. by standing up and saying, Amen.

He instructed them also, what benefit they had, by the Churches appointing the Celebration of Holy-dayes, and the excellent use of them; namely, that they were set apart for particular Commemorations of particular mercies received from Almighty God; and (as Reverend Mr. Hooker saies) to be the Landmarks to distinguish times; for by them we are taught to take notice how time passes by us; and that we ought not to let the Years pass without a Celebration of praise for those

mercies which those days give us occasion to remember; & therefore they were to note that the Year is appointed to begin the 25th day of March; a day in which we commemorate the Angels appearing to the B. Virgin, with the joyful tidings that she should conceive and bear a Son, that should be the redeemer of Mankind; and she did so Forty weeks after this joyful salutation; namely, at our Christmas: a day in which we commemorate his Birth, with joy and praise; and that eight days after this happy Birth, we celebrate his Circumcision; namely, in that which we call New-years day. And that upon that day which we call Twelfth day, we commemorate the manifestation of the unsearchable riches of Jesus to the Gentiles: And that that day we also celebrate the memory of his goodness in sending a Star to guide the three wise men from the East to Bethlem, that they might there worship, and present him with their oblations of Gold, Frankincense, and Myrrbe. And he (Mr. Herbert) instructed them, that Jesus was Forty days after his Birth, presented by his blessed mother in the Temple; namely, on that day which we call, the Purification of the blessed Virgin, Saint Mary. And he instructed them, that by the Lent-fast, we imitate and commemorate our Saviours humiliation in fasting Forty days; and, that we ought to endeavour to be like him in purity. And, that on Good-friday we commemorate and condole his Crucifixion. And at Easter, commemorate his olorious Resurrection. And he taught them, that after Jesus had manifested himself to his Disciples, to be that Christ that was crucified, dead and buried; and by his appearing and conversing with his Disciples for the space of Forty days after his Resurrection, he then, and not till then, ascended into Heaven, in the sight of those Disciples; namely, on that day which we call the Ascension, or Holy Thursday. And that we then celebrate the performance of the promise which he made to his Disciples, at or before his Ascension: namely, that though he left them, yet he would send them the Holy Ghost to be their Comforter; and that he did so on that day which the Church calls Whitsunday .--Thus the Church keeps an Historical and circular Commemoration of times, as they pass by us; of such times, as ought to incline us to occasional praises, for the particular blessings which we do, or might receive by those holy Commemorations.

He made them know also, why the Church hath appointed Emberweekes; and to know the reason why the Commandments, and the Epistles and Gospels were to be read at the Altar, or Communion Table: why the Priest was to pray the Litany kneeling; and, why to pray some Collects standing; and he gave them many other observations, fit for his plain Congregation, but not fit for me now to mention; for I must set limits to my Pen, and not make that a Treatise, which I intended to be a much shorter account than I have made it;—but I have done, when I have told the Reader, that he was constant in Cateching every Sunday in the After-moon, and that his Catechising was after his second lesson, and in the Pulpit, and that he never exceeded his half hour, and was always so happy as to have an obedient, and a full Congregation.

And to this I must add, That if he were at any time too zealous in his Sermons, it was in reproving the indecencies of the peoples behaviour, in the time of Divine Service; and of those Ministers that hudled up the Church-prayers, without a visible reverence and affection; namely, such as seem'd to say the Lords prayer, or a Collect in a breath; but for himself, his custom was, to stop betwixt every Collect, and give the people time to consider what they had pray'd, and to force their desires affectionately to God, before he engag'd them into new Petitions.

And by this account of his diligence, to make his Parishioners understand what they pray'd, and why they prais'd, and ador'd their Creator: I hope I shall the more easily obtain the Readers belief to the following account of Mr. Herberts own practice; which was, to appear constantly with his Wife, and three Neeces (the daughters of a deceased Sister) and his whole Family, twice every day at the Church-prayers, in the Chappel which does almost joyn to his Patsonage-house. And for the time of his appearing, it was strictly at the Canonical hours of 10 and 4; and then, and there, he lifted up pure and charitable hands to God in the midst of the Congregation. And he would joy to have spent that time in that place, where the honour of his Master Jesus dwelleth; and there, by that inward devotion which he testified constantly by an humble behaviour, and visible adoration,

he, like Jossa brought not only his own Houshold thus to serve the Lord; but brought most of his Parishioners, and many Gentlemen in the Neighbouthood, constantly to make a part of his Congregation twice a day; and some of the meaner sort of his Parish, did so love and reverence Mr. Herbert, that they would let their Plow rest when Mr. Herberts Saints-Bell rung to Prayers, that they might also offer their devotions to God with him: and would then return back to their Plow. And his most holy life was such, that it begot such reverence to God, and to him, that they thought themselves the happier, when they carried Mr. Herberts blessing back with them to their labour.—Thus powerful was his reason, and example, to perswade others to a practical piety, and devotion.

And his constant publick prayers did never make him to neglect his own private devotions, nor those prayers that he thought himself bound to perform with his Family, which alwaies were a Set-Form, and not long; and he did alwaies conclude them with that Collect which the Church hath appointed for the day or week.—Thus he made every days sanctity a step towards that Kingdom where Impurity cannot center.

His chiefest recreation was Musick, in which heavenly Art he was a most excellent Master, and did himself compose many divine Hymns and Anthems, which he set and sung to his Lute or Viol; and, though he was a lover of retiredness, yet his love to Musick was such, that he went usually twice every week on certain appointed days, to the Catherdral Church in Salisbury; and at his return would say, That his time spent in Proper, and Cathedral Musick, elevated his Soul, and was his Heaven upon Earth: But before his return thence to Bemerton, he would usually sing and play his part, at an appointed private Musick-meeting; and, to justific this practice, he would often say, Religion does not banish mirth, but only moderates, and sets rules to it.

And as his desire to enjoy bis Heaven upon Earth, drew him twice every week to Salisbury, so his walks thither, were the occasion of many happy accidents to others: of which, I will mention some few. In one of his walks to Salisbury, he overtook a Gentleman that is still

In one of his walks to Salisbury, he overtook a Gentleman that is still living in that City, and in their walk together, Mr. Herbert took a fair

occasion to talk with him, and humbly begg'd to be excus'd, if he ask'd him some account of his faith, and said, I do this the rather, because though you are not of my Parish, yet I receive Tythe from you by the band of your Tenant; and, Sir, I am the bolder to do it, because I know there be some Sermon-hearers, that be like those Fishes, that always live in salt water, and yet are always fresh.

After which expression, Mr. Herbert asked him some needful Questions, and having received his answer, gave him such Rules for the trial of his sincerity, and for a practical piety, and in so loving and meek a manner, that the Gentleman did so fall in love with him, and his discourse, that he would often contrive to meet him in his walk to Salisbury, or to attend him back to Bemeton, and still mentions the name of Mr. George Herbert with veneration, and still praiseth God for the occasion of knowing him.

In another of his Salisbury walks, he met with a Neighbour Minister, and after some friendly Discourse betwixt them, and some Condolement for the decay of Piety, and too general Contempt of the Clergy, Mr. Herbert took occasion to say,

One Cure for these Distempers would be for the Clergy themselves to keep the Ember-Weeks strictly, and beg of their Parishioners to joyn with them in Fasting and Prayers, for a more Religious Clergy.

And another Cure would be, for themselves to restore the great and neglected duty of Catechising, on which the saluation of so many of the poor and ignorant Layrecople does depend; but principally, that the Clergy themselves would be sure to live unblameably; and that the dignif'd Clergy especially, which preach Temperance, would avoid Surfeiting, and take all occasions to express a visible humility and charity in their livers; for this would force a love & an imitation, and an unfeigued reverence from all that knew them to be such. (And for proof of this, we need no other Testimony, than the life and death of Dr. Lake, late Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells) This (said Mr. Herberr) would be a cure for the wickedness and growing Atheism of our Age. And, my dear Brother, till this be done by us, and done in earness, let no man expect a reformation of the manners of the Laivy for 'tis nort learning, but this, this only, that must do it; and till then, the fault must lye at our doors.

In another walk to Salisbury, he saw a poor man, with a poorer horse, that was fall'n under his Load; they were both in distress, and needed present help; which Mr. Herbert perceiving, put off his Canonical Coat, and help'd the poor man to unload, and after, to load his horse: The poor man blest him for it: and he blest the poor man; and was so like the good Samaritan, that he gave him money to refresh both himself and his horse; and told him, That if he lov'd himself, he should be merciful to his Beast .- Thus he left the poor man, and at his coming to his musical friends at Salisbury, they began to wonder that Mr. George Herbert which us'd to be so trim and clean, came into that company so soyl'd and discompos'd: but he told them the occasion: And when one of the company told him. He had disparae'd himself by so dirty an employment; his answer was, That the thought of what he had done, would prove Musick to bim at Midnight; and that the omission of it, would have upbraided and made discord in his Conscience, whensoever he should pass by that place: for, if I be bound to pray for all that be in distress, I am sure that I am bound so far as it is in my power to practise what I pray for. And though I do not wish for the like occasion every day, yet let me tell you, I would not willingly pass one day of my life without comforting a sad soul, or shewing mercy; and I praise God for this occasion: And now let's tune our Instruments.

Thus, as our blessed Saviour after his Resurrection did take occasion to interpret the Scripture to Cleopas, and that other Disciple which he met with and accompanied in their journey to Emmaus; so Mr. Herbert, in his path toward Heaven, did daily take any fair occasion to instruct the ignorant, or comfort any that were in affliction; and did alwaies confirm his precepts, by shewing humility and mercy, and ministring grace to the heaters.

And he was most happy in his Wifes unforc'd compliance with his acts of Charity, whom he made his Almoner, and paid constantly into her hand, a tenth penny of what money he receiv'd for Tythe, and gave her power to dispose that to the poor of his Parish, and with it a power to dispose a tenth part of the Corn that came yearly into his Barn; which trust she did most faithfully perform, and would often offer to him an account of her stewardship, and as often bee an inlargement of his

bounty, for she rejoye'd in the employment; and this was usually laid out by her in Blankets and Shooes, for some such poor people, as she knew to stand in most need of them. This, as to her Charity. - And for his own, he set no limits to it; nor did ever turn his face from any that he saw in want, but would relieve them; especially his poor Neighbours; to the meanest of whose Houses, he would go and inform himself of their wants, and relieve them chearfully if they were in distress; and would alwaies praise God, as much for being willing, as for being able to do it. --- And when he was advis'd by a friend to be more frugal, because he might have Children, his answer was, He would not see the danger of want so far off; but, being the Scripture does so commend Charity, as to tell us, that Charity is the top of Christian vertues. the covering of sins, the fulfilling of the Law, the life of Faith: And that Charity bath a promise of the blessings of this life, and of a reward in that life which is to come, being these, and more excellent things are in Scripture spoken of thee O Charity, and that, being all my Tythes, and Church-dues, are a Deodate from thee O my God! make me, O my God, so far to trust thy promise, as to return them back to thee; and, by thy grace, I will do so, in distributing them to any of thy poor members that are in distress, or do but bear the image of Jesus my Master. Sir (said he to his friend) my Wife bath a competent maintenance secur'd her after my death, and therefore as this is my prayer, so this my resolution shall by Gods grace be unalterable.

This may be some account of the excellencies of the active part of his life; and thus he continued, till a Consumption so weakned him, as to confine him to his House, or to the Chappel, which does almost joyn to it; in which he continued to read Prayers constantly twice every day, though he were very weak; in one of which times of his reading, his Wife observ'd him to read in pain, and told him so, and that it wasted his spirits, and weakned him: and he confess'd it did, but said, His life could not be better spent, than in the service of his Master Jesus, who had done and suffered so much for him: But, said he, I will not be wills! for though my spirit be willing, yet I find my flesh is weak; and therefore Mr. Bostock thall be appointed to read Prayers for me to morrow, and I will now be only a bearer of them, till this mortal shall put on immortality. And Mr. Bostock did the next day undettake and continue this happy

employment, till Mr. Herberts death. — This Mr. Bostock was a learned and vertuous man, an old friend of Mr. Herberts, and then his Curate to the Church of Fulston, which is a mile from Bemerton, to which Church, Bemerton is but a Choppel of case. — And, this Mr. Bostock did also constantly supply the Church-service for Mr. Herbert in that Chappel, when the Musick-meeting at Salisbury caus'd his absence from it.

About one month before his death, his friend Mr. Farrer (for an account of whom I am by promise indebted to the Reader, and intend to make him sudden payment) hearing of Mr. Herberts sickness, sent Mr. Edmund Duncon (who is now Rector of Frver Barnet in the County of Middlesex) from his House of Gidden Hall, which is near to Hunting, ton, to see Mr. Herbert, and to assure him, he wanted not his daily prayers for his recovery; and Mr. Duncon was to return back to Gidden, with an account of Mr. Herberts condition. Mr. Duncon found him weak, and at that time lying on his Bed, or on a Pallat; but at his seeing Mr. Duncon, he rais'd himself vigorously, saluted him, and with some earnestness inquir'd the health of his brother Farrer? of which Mr. Duncon satisfied him; and after some discourse of Mr. Farrers holy life, and the manner of his constant serving God, he said to Mr. Duncon -Sir, I see by your babit that you are a Priest, and I desire you to pray with me: which being granted, Mr. Duncon ask'd him, what Prayers? to which, Mr. Herberts answer was, O Sir, the Prayers of my Mother, the Church of England, no other Prayers are equal to them! but, at this time, I beg of you to pray only the Litany, for I am weak and faint; and Mr. Duncon did so. After which, and some other discourse of Mr. Farrer, Mrs. Herbert provided Mr. Duncon a plain Supper, and a clean Lodging, and he betook himself to rest .- This Mr. Duncon tells me; and tells me, that at his first view of Mr. Herbert, he saw majesty and humility so reconcil'd in his looks and behaviour, as begot in him an awful reverence for his person: and saies, his discourse was so pious, and his motion so gentile and meek, that after almost forty years, yet they remain still fresh in his memory.

The next morning Mr. Duncon left him, and betook himself to a Journey to Bath, but with a promise to return back to him within five

days, and he did so; but before I shall say any thing of what discourse then fell betwixt them two, I will pay my promis'd account of Mr. Farrer.

Mr. Nicholas Farrer (who got the reputation of being call'd Saint Nicholas, at the age of six years) was born in London: and doubtless had good education in his youth; but certainly was at an early age made Fellow of Clare-Hall in Cambridge, where he continued to be eminent for his viety, temperance, and learning. --- About the 26th year of his Age, he betook himself to Travel: in which he added to his Latin and Greek, a perfect knowledge of all the Languages spoken in the Western parts of our Christian world; and understood well the principles of their Religion, and of their manner, and the reasons of their worship. -- In this his Travel he met with many perswasions to come into a communion with that Church which calls it self Catholick: but he return'd from his Travels as he went, eminent for his obedience to his Mother, the Church of England. In his absence from England, Mr. Farrers father (who was a Merchant) allow'd him a liberal maintenance; and, not long after his return into England, Mr. Farrer had by the death of his father, or an elder brother, or both, an Estate left him, that enabled him to purchase Land to the value of 4 or 500 l. a year; the greatest part of which Land was at Little Gidden, 4 or 6 miles from Huntington, and about 18 from Cambridge: which place, he chose for the privacy of it, and for the Hall, which had the Parish Church, or Chappel belonging, and adjoining near to it: for Mr. Farrer having seen the manners and vanities of the World, and found them to be, as Mr. Herbert says, A nothing between two Dishes; did so contemn it, that he resolv'd to spend the remainder of his life in mortifications, and in devotion, and charity, and to be alwaies prepar'd for Death:---And his life was spent thus.

He, and his Family, which were like a little Colledge, and about Thirry in number, did most of them keep Lent, and all Embersweeks strictly, both in fasting, and using all those mortifications and prayers that the Church hath appointed to be then used: and, he and they, did the like constantly on Fridays, and on the Vigils, or Eves appointed to be fasted before the Saints-days; and this frugality and abstinence.

turn'd to the relief of the Poor: but this was but a part of his charity, none but God and he knew the rest.

This Family, which I have said to be in number about Thirty, were a part of them his Kindred, and the rest chosen to be of a temper fit to be moulded into a devout life; and all of them were for their dispositions serviceable and quiet, and bumble, and free from scandal. Having thus fitted himself for his Family, he did about the year 1630, betake himself to a constant and methodical service of God, and it was in this manner.—He being accompanied with most of his Family, did himself use to read the Common prayers (for he was a Deacon) every day, at the appointed hours of Ten and Four, in the Parish Church which was very near his House, and which he had both repair'd and adorn'd; for it was fallen into a great ruine, by reason of a depopulation of the Village before Mr. Farrer bought the Mannor: And he did also constantly read the Mattins every Morning at the hour of six, either in the Church, or in an Oratory, which was within his own House: And many of the Family did there continue with him after the Prayers were ended, and there they spent some hours in singing Hymns, or Anthems, sometimes in the Church, and often to an Organ in the Oratory. And there they sometimes betook themselves to meditate, or to pray privately, or to read a part of the New Testament to themselves, or to continue their praying or reading the Psalms: and, in case the Psalms were not all alwaies read in the day, then Mr. Farrer, and others of the Congregation, did at Night, at the ring of a Watch-bell, repair to the Church or Oratory, and there betake themselves to prayers, and lauding God, and reading the Psalms that had not been read in the day; and, when these, or any part of the Congregation grew weary, or faint, the Watch-bell was Rung, sometimes before. and sometimes after Midnight: and then another part of the Family rose, and maintain'd the Watch, sometimes by praying, or singing Lauds to God, or reading the Psalms: and when after some hours they also grew weary or faint, then they rung the Watch-bell, and were also reliev'd by some of the former, or by a new part of the Society, which continued their devotions, (as hath been mentioned) until morning. --- And it is to be noted, that in this continued serving of

God, the Psaker, or whole Book of Psalms, was in every four and twenty hours, sung or read over, from the first to the last vertes: and this was done as constantly, as the Sun runs his Circle every day about the World, and then begins again the same instant that it ended.

Thus did Mr. Farrer, and his happy Family, serve God day and night: Thus did they alwaies behave themselves, as in his presence. And they did alwaies eat and drink by the strictest rules of Temperance; eat and drink so, as to be ready to rise at Midnight, or at the call of a Watch-bell, and perform their devotions to God .- And 'tis fit to tell the Reader, that many of the Clergy that were more inclin'd to practical piety, and devotion, then to doubtful and needless Disputations, did often come to Gidden Hall, and make themselves a part of that happy Society, and stay a week or more, and then join with Mr. Farrer and the Family in these Devotions, and assist and ease him or them in their Watch by Night; and these various Devotions, had never less than two of the Domestick Family in the Night; and the Watch was alwaies kept in the Church or Oratory, unless in extream cold Winter nights, and then it was maintain'd in a Parlour which had a fire in it: and the Parlour was fitted for that purpose; and this course of Piety, and great liberality to his poor Neighbours, Mr. Farrer maintain'd till his death, which was in the year 1639.

Mr. Farrers, and Mr. Herberts devout lives, were both so noted, that the general report of their sanctity gave them occasion to renew that slight acquaintance which was begun at their being Contemporaries in Cambridge; and this new holy friendship was long maintain'd without any interview, but only by loving and endearing Letters. And one testimony of their friendship, and pious designs, may appear by Mr. Farrers commending the considerations of John Valdesso (a Book which he had met with in his Travels, and Translated out of Spanish into English) to be examin'd and censur'd by Mr. Herbert before it was made publick; which excellent Book, Mr. Herbert did read, and return back with many marginal Notes, as they be now printed with it: And with them, Mr. Herberts affectionate Letter to Mr. Farrer.

This John Valdesso was a Spaniard, and was for his Learning and Vertue, much valued and lov'd by the great Emperour Charles the

fifth, whom Valdesso had followed as a Cavalier all the time of his long and dangerous Wars; and when Valdesso grew old, and grew weary both of War and the World, he took his fair opportunity to declare to the Emperour, that his resolution was to decline His Majesties Service, and betake himself to a quiet and contemplative life, because there ought to be a vacancy of time, betwist fighting and dying.—

The Emperour had himself, for the same, or other like reasons, put on the same resolution: but, God and himself did till then, only know them; and he did therefore desire Valdesso to consider well of what he had said, and to keep his purpose within his own breast, till they two might have a second opportunity of a friendly Discourse: which Valdesso promis'd to do.

In the mean time, the Emperour appoints privately a day for him and Valdesso to meet again, and, after a pious and free discourse they both agreed on a certain day to receive the blessed Sacrament publickly: and, appointed an eloquent and devout Fryer, to preach a Sermon of contempt of the World, and of the happiness and benefit of a quiet and contemplative life; which the Fryer did most affectionately.—After which Sermon, the Emperout took occasion to declare openly, That the Preacher had begot in him a resolution to lay down his Dignities, and to forsake the World, and betake himself to a Monatital life. And he pretended, he had perswaded John Valdesso to do the like; but this is most certain, that after the Emperour had called his son Philip out of England, and resign'd to him all his Kingdoms, that then the Emperour, and John Valdesso, did perform their resolutions.

This account of John Valdesso, I receiv'd from a Friend, that had it from the mouth of Mr. Farrer: And the Reader may note, that in this retirement, John Valdesso writ his 110 considerations, and many other Treatises of worth, which want a second Mr. Farrer to procure, and Translate them.

After this account of Mr. Farrer, and John Valdesso, I proceed to my account of Mr. Herheet, and Mr. Duncon, who, according to his promise, return'd from the Bath the fifth day, and then found Mr. Herhert much weaker than he left him: and therefore their Discourse could not be long; but at Mr. Duncons parting with him, Mr. Herhert

spoke to this purpose-Sir, I pray give my brother Farrer an account of the decaying condition of my body, and tell him, I beg him to continue his daily prayers for me: and let him know, that I have consider'd. That God only is what he would bee; and that I am by his grace become now so like him, as to be pleas'd with what pleaseth him; and tell him, that I do not repine but am pleas'd with my want of health; and tell him, my heart is fixed on that place where true joy is only to be found; and that I long to be there, and do wait for my appointed change with hope and patience. Having said this, he did with so sweet a humility as seem'd to exalt him, bow down to Mr. Duncon, and with a thoughtful and contented look, say to him,---Sir, I pray deliver this little Book to my dear brother Fattet, and tell him, be shall find in it a picture of the many spiritual Conflicts that have past betwixt God and my Soul, before I could subject mine to the will of Jesus my Master: in whose service I have now found perfect freedom; desire him to read it; and then, if he can think it may turn to the advantage of any dejected poor Soul? let it be made publick: if not? let bim burn it: for I and it, are less than the least of God's mercies. - Thus meanly did this humble man think of this excellent Book, which now bears the name of The TEMPLE: Or, Sacred Poems, and Private Ejaculations; of which, Mr. Farrer would say, There was in it the picture of a divine Soul in every page; and, that the whole Book was such a harmony of boly passions, as would enrich the World with pleasure and piety. And it appears to have done so: for there have been more then Twenty thousand of them sold since the first Impression.

And this ought to be noted, that when Mr. Farrer sent this Book to Cambridge to be Licensed for the Press, the Vice Chancellor would by no means allow the two so much noted Verses,

Religion stands a Tip-toe in our Land, Ready to pass to the American Strand.

to be printed; and Mr. Farrer would by no means allow the Book to be printed, and want them: But after some time, and some arguments, for and against their being made publick, the Viee-Chancellor said, I knew Mr. Hetbett well, and know that be bad many beavenly Speculations, and was a Divine Poet; but I hope the World will not take him to be an in-

spired Prophet, and therefore I License the whole Book: So that it came to be printed, without the diminution or addition of a syllable, since it was deliver'd into the hands of Mr. Duncon, save only, that Mr. Farrer hath added that excellent Preface that is printed before it.

At the time of Mr. Duncons leaving Mr. Herbert, (which was about three weeks before his death) his old and dear friend Mr. Woodnot. came from London to Bemerton, and never left him, till he had seen him draw his last breath, and clos'd his Eves on his Death-bed. In this time of his decay, he was often visited and pray'd for by all the Clergy that liv'd near to him, especially by his friends the Bishop and Prebends of the Cathedral Church in Salisbury: but by none more devoutly, than his Wife, his three Neeces (then a part of his Family) and Mr. Woodnot, who were the sad Witnesses of his daily decay: to whom he would often speak to this purpose. - I now look back upon the pleasures of my life past, and see the content I have taken in beauty, in wit, in musick, and pleasant Conversation, are now all past by me, like a dream, or as a shadow that returns not, and are now all become dead to me. or I to them; and I see that as my father and generation hath done before me. so I also shall now suddenly (with Job) make my Bed also in the dark; and I praise God I am prepared for it; and I praise him, that I am not to learn patience, now I stand in such need of it; and that I have practised Mortification. and endeavour'd to dye daily, that I might not dye eternally; and, my hove is, that I shall shortly leave this valley of tears, and be free from all fevers and pain: and which will be a more happy condition. I shall be free from sin, and all the temptations and anxieties that attend it; and this being past, I shall dwell in the new Jerusalem, dwell there with men made verfect; dwell, where these eyes shall see my Master and Saviour Jesus; and with him see my dear Mother, and all my Relations and Friends:- But I must dye, or not come to that bappy place: And this is my content, that I am going daily towards it; and that every day which I have liv'd, hath taken a part of my appointed time from me; and that I shall live the less time, for having liv'd this, and the day vast,---These, and the like expressions, which he utter'd often, may be said to be his enjoyment of Heaven, before he enjoy'd it .- The Sunday before his death, he rose suddenly from his Bed or Couch, call'd for one of his Instruments, took it into hand, and saidTHE LIFE OF HERBERT
My God, My God,
My Musick shall find thee,
And every string
shall have his attribute to sino.

And having tun'd it, he play'd and sung:
The Sundays of Mans life,
Thredded together on times string,
Make Bracelets, to adom the Wife
Of the eternal glorious King;
On Sundays, Heavens dore stands ope;
Blessings are plentiful and rife,
More plentiful than bope.

Thus he sung on Earth such Hymns and Anthems, as the Angels and he, and Mr. Farrer, now sing in Heaven.

Thus he continued meditating and praying, and rejoicing, till the day of his death; and on that day, said to Mr. Woodnot, My dear Friend, I am sorry I have nothing to present to my merciful God but sin and misery; but the first is pardoned: and a few hours will now put a period to the latter; for I shall suddenly go hence and be no more seen. Upon which expression, Mr. Woodnot took occasion to remember him of the Reedifying Layton Church, and his many Acts of mercy; to which he made answer, saying, They be good works, if they be sprinkled with the blood of Christ, and not otherwise. After this Discourse he became more restless, and his Soul seem'd to be weary of her earthly Tabernacle; and this uneasiness became so visible, that his Wife, his three Necces, and Mr. Woodnot, stood constantly about his bed, beholding him with sorrow, and an unwillingness to lose the sight of him whom they could not hope to see much longer .- As they stood thus beholding him, his Wife observ'd him to breath faintly, and with much trouble: and observ'd him to fall into a sudden Agony; which so surpriz'd her, that she fell into a sudden passion, and requir'd of him to know, how he did? to which his answer was, That he had past a Conflict with his last Enemy, and had overcome him, by the merits of his Master Jesus. After which answer, he look'd up, and saw his Wife and

THE LIFE OF HERBERT

Neeces weeping to an extremity, and charg'd them. If they lov'd him, to withdraw into the next Room, and there pray every one alone for him, for nothing but their lamentations could make his death uncomfortable. To which request, their sighs and tears would not suffer them to make any reply: but they yielded him a sad obedience, leaving only with him Mr. Woodnot, and Mr. Bostock. Immediately after they had left him, he said to Mr. Bostock, Pray Sir open that door, then look into that Cabinet, in which you may easily find my last Will, and give it into my hand; which being done Mr. Herbert deliver'd it into the hand of Mr. Woodnot, and said, My old Friend, I here deliver you my last Will, in which you will find that I have made you my sole Executor for the good of my Wife and Neeces; and I desire you to shew kindness to them, as they shall need it; I do not desire you to be just: for I know you will be so for your own sake; but I charge you, by the Religion of our friendship, to be careful of them. And having obtain'd Mr. Woodnots promise to be so; he said, I am now ready to dye: after which words he said, Lord, forsake me not now my strength faileth me: but grant me mercy for the merits of my Jesus; and now Lord, Lord now receive my Soul. And, with those words he breath'd forth his Divine Soul, without any apparent disturbance: Mr. Woodnot, and Mr. Bostock, attending his last breath, and closing his eyes.

Thus he liv'd, and thus he dy'd like a Saint, unspotted of the World, full of Alms-deeds, full of Humility, and all the examples of a vertuous life; which I cannot conclude better, than with this borrowed observations.

—— All must to their cold Graves;
But the religious actions of the just,
Smell sweet in death, and blossom in the dust.

Mr. George Herberts have done so to this, and will doubtless do so to succeeding Generations.—I have but this to say more of him: That if Andrew Melvin dyed before him, then George Herbert dyed without an enemy.—I wish (if God shall be so pleased) that I may be so happy as to dye like him.

Iz. Wa.

THE LIFE OF HERBERT

There is a debt justly due to the memory of Mr. Herberts vertuous Wife; a part of which I will endeavour to pay, by a very short account of the remainder of her life, which shall follow.

She continu'd his disconsolate Widow, about six years, bemoaning her self, and complaining, That she had lost the delight of her eyes; but more, that she had lost the spiritual guide for her poor soul; and would often say, O that I had like holy Mary, the Mother of Jesus, treasur'd up all his sayings in my heart; but since I have not been able to do that, I will labour to live like him, that where he now is, I may be also. And she would often say (as the Prophet David for his son Absolon) O that I had dyed for him! Thus she continued mourning, till time and conversation had so moderated her sorrows, that she became the happy Wife of Sir Robert Cook of Highnam in the County of Gloucester Knight: And though he put a high value on the excellent accomplishments of her mind and body; and was so like Mr. Herbert, as not to govern like a Master, but as an affectionate Husband; yet she would even to him often take occasion to mention the name of Mr. George Herbert, and say, That name must live in her memory, till she put off mortality. - By Sir Robert, she had only one Child, a Daughter, whose parts and plentiful estate make her happy in this world, and her well using of them, gives a fair testimony, that she will be so in that which is to come.

Mrs. Herbert was the Wife of Sir Robert eight years, and liv'd his Widow about fifteen; all which time, she took a pleasure in mentioning, and commending the excellencies of Mr. George Herbert. She dyed in the year 1663, and lies buried at Highnam; Mr. Herbert in his own Church, under the Altar, and cover'd with a Grave-stone without any inscription.

um cover a unio a Crawestonic without any inscription.

This Lady Cook, had preserv'd many of Mr. Herberts private Writings,
which she intended to make publick; but they, and Highnam house, were
hurnt together, by the late Rehels, and so lost to posterity.

I. W.

LETTERS from George Herbert and Dr. John Donne

MR. GEORGE HERBERT TO N. F. THE TRANSLATOUR OF VALDESSO

My dear and deserving Brother, your Valdesso I now return with many thanks, and some notes, in which perhaps you will discover some care, which I forbear not in the midst of my griefs; First for your sake; because, I would do nothing negligently that you commit unto me; Secondly for the Authors sake, whom I conceive to have been a true servant of God; and to such, and all that is theirs, I owe diligence; Thirdly for the Churches sake, to whom by Printing it, I would have you consecrate it. You owe the Church a debt, and God hath put this into your hands (as he sent the Fish with money to St. Peter) to discharge it: happily also with this (as his thoughts are fruitful) intending the honour of his servant the Author, who being obscured in his own Countrey, he would have to flourish in this land of light, and region of the Gospel, among his chosen. It is true, there are some things which I like not in him, as my fragments will express, when you read them; nevertheless, I wish you by all means to publish it, for these three eminent things observable therein: First, that God in the midst of Popery should open the eyes of one to understand and express so clearly, and excellently the intent of the Gospel in the acceptation of Christs righteousness: (as he sheweth through all his Considerations.) a thing strangely buried, and darkned by the Adversaries, and their great stumbling block. Secondly, the great honour and reverence which he every where bears towards our dear Master and Lord; concluding every Consideration almost with his holy Name, and setting his merit forth so piously; for which I do so love him, that were there nothing else, I would Print it, that with it the honour of my Lord might be published. Thirdly, the many pious rules of ordering our life, about Mortification, and observation of Gods Kingdom within us, and the working thereof; of which he was a very diligent observer. These three things are very eminent in the Author, and overweigh the Defects (as I conceive) towards the publishing thereof.

From his Parsonage of Bemerton, near Salisbury, Sept. 29, 1632. TO SIR J. D.

SIR,

Though I had the best wit in the World, yet it would easily tire me, to find our variety of thanks for the diversity of your favours, if I sought to do so; but I profess it not: And therefore let it be sufficient for me, that the same heart, which you have won long since, is still true to you, and hath nothing else to answer your infinite kindnesses, but a constancy of obedience, only hereafter I will take heed how I propose my desires unto you, since I find you so willing to yield to my requests; for, since your favours come a Horse-back, there is reason, that you have performed your kindness to the full, and that the Horse is every way fit for me, and I will strive to imitate the completaness of your love, with being in some proportion, and after my manner,

Your most obedient Servant,

George Herbert.

FOR MY DEAR SICK SISTER

Most dear Sister,

Think not my silence forgetfulness; or that my love is as dumb as my papers, though businesses may stop my hand, yet my heart, a much better member, is always with you: and which is more, with our good and gracious God, incessantly begging some ease of your pains, with that earnestness, that becomes your griefs, and my love. God who knows and sees this Writing, knows also that my solliciting him has been much, and my tears many for you; judge me then by those waters, and not by my ink, and then you shall justly value

Decem. 6. 1620. Trin. Coll. Your most truly, most beartily, affectionate Brother,

and Servant,

George Herbert,

SIR.

I dare no longer be silent, least while I think I am modest, I wrong both my self, and also the confidence my Friends have in me; where fore I will open my case unto you, which I think deserves the reading at the least; and it is this, I want Books extreamly; You know Sir, how I am now setting foot into Divinity, to lay the platform of my

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future life, and shall I then be fain always to borrow Books, and build on anothers foundation? What Tradesman is there who will set up without his Tools? Pardon my boldness Sir, it is a most serious Case, nor can I write coldly in that, wherein consisteth the making good of my former education, of obeying that Spirit which hath guided me hitherto, and of atchieving my (I dare say) holy ends. This also is aggravated, in that I apprehend what my Friends would have been forward to say, if I had taken ill courses, Follow your Book, and now let them make it good; for, since, I hope, I have not deceived their expectation, let not them deceive mine: But perhaps they will say, you are sickly, you must not study too hard; it is true (God knows) I am weak, yet not so, but that every day, I may step one step towards my journies end; and I love my friends so well, as that if all things proved not well. I had rather the fault should lie on me, than on them: but they will object again, What becomes of your Annuity? Sir, if there be any truth in me. I find it little enough to keep me in health. You know I was sick last Vacation, neither am I vet recovered, so that I am fain ever and anon, to buy somewhat tending towards my health. for infirmities are both painful and costly. Now this Lent I am forbid utterly to eat any Fish, so that I am fain to dyet in my Chamber at mine own cost; for in our publick Halls, you know, is nothing but Fish and Whit-meats: Out of Lent also, twice a Week, on Fridays and Saturdays, I must do so, which yet sometimes I fast. Sometimes also I ride to New-Market, and there lie a day or two for fresh Air: all which tend to avoiding of costlier matters, if I should fall absolutely sick: I protest and vow, I even study Thrift, and yet I am scarce able with much ado to make one half years allowance, shake hands with the other: And yet if a Book of four or five Shillings, come in my way, I buy it, though I fast for it; yea, sometimes of Ten Shillings: But. alas Sir, what is that to those infinite Volumes of Divinity, which yet every day swell, and grow bigger. Noble Sir, pardon my boldness. and consider but these three things. First, the Bulk of Divinity. Secondly, the time when I desire this (which is now, when I must lay the foundation of my whole life). Thirdly, what I desire, and to what end, not vain pleasures, nor to a vain end. If then, Sir, there be any course, either by engaging my future Annuity, or any other way, I desire you, Sir, to be my Mediator to them in my behalf.

Now I write to you, Sir, because to you I have ever opened my heart; and have reason, by the Patents of your perpetual favour to do so still, for I am sure you love

March 18. 1617. Trin, Coll. Your faithfullest Servant, George Herbert. SIR.

This Week hath loaded me with your Favours; I wish I could have come in person to thank you, but it is not possible; presently after Michaelmas, I am to make an Oration to the whole University of an hour long in Latin, and my Lincoln journey hath set me much behind hand: neither can I so much as go to Bugden, and deliver your Letter, yet have I sent it thither by a faithful Messenger this day: I beseech you all, you and my dear Mother and Sister to pardon me, for my Cambridge necessities are stronger to tye me here, than yours to London: If I could possibly have come, none should have done my message to Sir Fr. Nethersole for me; he and I are ancient acquaintance, and I have a strong opinion of him, that if he can do me a courtesie, he will of himself; yet your appearing in it, affects me strangely. I have sent you here inclosed a Letter from our Master in my behalf, which if you can send to Sir Francis before his departure, it will do well, for it expresseth the Universities inclination to me; yet if you cannot send it with much convenience, it is no matter, for the Gentleman needs no incitation to love me.

The Orators place (that you may understand what it is) is the finest place in the University, though not the gainfullest; yet that will be about 30 l. per an. but the commodiousness is beyond the Revenue; for the Orator writes all the University Letters, makes all the Orations, be it to King, Prince, or whatever comes to the University; to requite these pains, he takes place next the Doctors, is at all their Assemblies and Meetings, and sits above the Proctors, is Regent or Non-regent at his pleasure, and such like Gaynesses, which will please

a young man well.

I long to hear from Sir Francis, I pray Sir send the Letter you receive from him to me as soon as you can, that I may work the heads to my purpose. I hope I shall get this place without all your London helps, of which I am very proud, not but that I joy in your favours, but that you may see, that if all fail, yet I am able to stand on mine own legs. Noble Sir, I thank you for your infinite favours, I fear only that I have omitted some fitting circumstance, yet you will pardon my haste, which is very great, though never so, but that I have both time and work to be

Your extream Servant,

George Herbert.

SIR,

I have received the things you sent me, safe; and now the only thing I long for, is to hear of my dear sick Sister; first, how her health fares, next, whether my peace be yet made with her concerning my unkind

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departure. Can I be so happy, as to hear of both these that they succeed well? Is it not too much for me? Good Sir, make it plain to her, that I loved her even in my departure, in looking to her Son, and my charge. I suppose she is not disposed to spend her eye-sight on a piece of Paper, or else I had wrote to her; when I shall understand that a Letter will be easonable, my Pen is ready. Concerning the Orators place all goes well yet, the next Friday it is tried, and accordingly you shall hear. I have forty businesses in my hands, your Courtesie will pardon the haste of

Your humblest Servant.

Jan. 19. 1619. Trin. Coll.

George Herbert.

SIR.

I understand by Sir Francis Nethersols Letter, that he fears I have not fully resolved of the matter, since this place being civil may divert me too much from Divinity, at which, not without cause, he thinks, I aim; but I have wrote him back, that this dignity, hath no such earthiness in it, but it may very well be joined with Heaven; or if it had to others, yet to me it should not, for ought I yet knew; and therefore I desire him to send me a direct answer in his next Letter. I pray Sir therefore, cause this inclosed to be carried to his brothers house of his own name (as I think) at the sign of the Paller and the Pack on London-bridge, for there he assigns me. I cannot yet find leisure to write to my Lord, or Sir Benjamin Ruddyard; but I hope I shall shortly, though for the reckoning of your favors, I shall never find time and paper enough, yet I am

Your readiest Servant.

Octob. 6. 1619. Trin. Coll.

George Herbert.

I remember my most humble duty to my Mother, who cannot think me lazy, since I rode 200 mile to see a Sister, in a way I knew not, in the midst of much business, and all in a Fortnight, not long since.

TO THE TRULY NOBLE SIR J. D.

SIR.

I understand by a Letter from my Brother Henry, that he hath bought a parcel of Books for me, and that they are coming over. Now though they have hitherto travelled upon your charge, yet if my Sistet were

LETTERS

acquainted that they are ready, I dare say she would make good her promise of taking five or six pound upon her, which she hath hitherto deferred to do, not of her self, but upon the want of those Books which were not to be got in England; for that which surmounts, though your noble disposition is infinitely five, yet I had rather flie to my old ward, that if any course could be taken of doubling my Annuity now, upon condition that I should surcease from all title to it, after I enter d into a Benefice, I should be most glad to entertain it, and both pay for the surplusage of these Books, and for ever after cease my clamorous and greedy bookish requests. It is high time now that I should be no more a burden to you, since I can never answer what I have already received; for your favours are so ancient, that they prevent my memory, and yet still grow upon

Your Humblest Servant,

George Herbert.

I remember my most bumble duty to my Mother, I have wrote to my dear sick Sister this week already, and therefore now I hope may be excused. I pray Sir, pardon my boldness of inclosing my Brothers Letter in yours, for it was because I know your Lodgins, but not bis:

TO THE WORTHIEST LADY, MRS. MAGDALEN HERBERT

MADAM,

Every excuse hath in it somewhat of accusation; and since I am innocent, and yet must excuse, how shall I do for that part of accusing. By my troth, as desperate and perplexed men, grow from thence bold; so must I take the boldness of accusing you, who would draw so dark a Curtain betwixt me and your purposes, as that I had no glimmering, neither of your goings, nor the way which my Letters might haunt. Yet I have given this Licence to Travel, but I know not whether, nor it. It is therefore rather a Pinnace to discover; and the intire Colony of Letters, of Hundreds and Fifties, must follow; whose employment is more honourable, than that which our State meditates to Virginia, because you are worthier than all that Countrey, of which that is a wretched inch; for you have better treasure, and a harmlessness. If this sound like a flattery, tear it out. I am to my Letters as rigid a Puritane, as Cæsar was to his Wife. I can as ill endure a suspitious and misinterpretable word as a fault; but remember, that nothing is flattery which the Speaker believes; and of the grossest

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flatteries there is this good use, that they tell us what we should be. But, Madam, you are beyond instruction, and therefore there can belong to you only praise; of which, though you be no good hearer, yet allow all my Letters leave to have in them one part of it, which is thankfulness towards you.

Your unworthiest Servant,

Micham, July 11. 1607.

Except your accepting bave mended him,

John Donne.

TO THE WORTHIEST LADY, MRS. MAGDALEN HERBERT

MADAM,

This is my second Letter, in which though I cannot tell you what is good, yet this is the worst, that I must be a great part of it; yet to me, that is recompensed, because you must be mingled. After I knew you were gone (for I must, little less than accusingly tell you, I knew not you would go) I sent my first Letter, like a Bevis of Hampton, to seek Adventures. This day I came to Town, and to the best part of it, your House; for your memory is a State-cloth and Presence; which I reverence, though you be away; though I need not seek that there, which I have about and within me. There, though I found my accusation, yet any thing to which your hand is, is a pardon; yet I would not burn my first Letter, because as in great destiny no small passage can be omitted or frustrated, so in my resolution of writing almost daily to you, I would have no link of the Chain broke by me. both because my Letters interpret one another, and because only their number can give them weight: If I had your Commission and Instructions to do you the service of a Legier Ambassador here, I could say something of the Countess of Devon: of the States, and such things. But since to you, who are not only a World alone, but the Monarchy of the World your self, nothing can be added, especially by me; I will sustain my self with the honour of being

London, July 23. Your Servant Extraordinary,

And without Place.

John Donne.

LETTERS

TO THE WORTHIEST LADY, MRS. MAGDALEN HERBERT

MADAM,

As we must dye before we can have full glory and happiness, so before I can have this degree of it, as to see you by a Letter, I must almost dye, that is, come to London, to plaguy London; a place full of danger, and vanity, and vice, though the Court be gone. And such it will be, till your return redeem it: Not that the greatest vertue in the World, which is you, can be such a Marshal, as to defeat, or disperse all the vice of this place; but as higher bodies remove, or contract themselves when better come, so at your return we shall have one door open to innocence. Yet Madam, you are not such an Ireland, as produceth neither ill, nor good; no Spiders, nor Nightingales, which is a rare degree of perfection: But you have found and practised that experiment, That even nature, out of her detesting of emptiness, if we will make that our work, to remove bad, will fill us with good things. To abstain from it, was therefore but the Childhood, and Minority of your Soul, which had been long exercised since, in your manlier active part, of doing good. Of which since I have been a witness and subject, not to tell you sometimes, that by your influence and example I have attained to such a step of goodness, as to be thankful, were both to accuse your power and judgment of impotency and

your Ladyships in all Services,

August 2. 1607.

John Donne.

ON MR. GEORGE HERBERT'S BOOK, INTITULED,
THE TEMPLE OF SACRED POEMS, SENT TO A
GENTLEWOMAN BY MR. CRASHAW

Know you Fair, on what you look? Divinest Love lies in this Book: Expecting Fire from your Eyes, To kindle this his Sacrifice. When your hands untye these strings, Think you've an Angel by the wings.

THE LIFE OF HERBERT

One that gladly will be nigh,
To wait upon each morning sigh.
To flutter in the balmy Air,
Of your well perfumed Prayer.
These white Plumes of his Hee'll lend you,
Which every day to Heaven will send you,
To take acquaintance of the Sphere,
And all the smooth-fai'd Kindred there.
And though Herberts Name do owe
These Devotions, Fairest, know
That while I lay them on the shrine
Of your white Hand, they are mine.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LADY ANNE, COUNTESS OF PEMBR. AND MONTG.

AT COURT

MADAM.

What a trouble hash your Goodness brought on you, by admitting our poor services? now they creep in a Vessel of Metheglin, and still they will be presenting or wishing to see, if at length they may find out some thing not une worthy of those bends at which they aim. In the mean time a Priests blessing, though it be none of the Court-stile, yet doubless Madam, can do you no hurt. Wherefore the Lord make good the blessing of your Mother upon you, and cause all beer wishes, diligence, prayers and tears, to bud, blow and bear fruit in your Soul, to bis glory, your own good, and the great joy had.

Madam.

Dec. 10. 1631. Bemerton.

Your most faithful Servant

in Christ Jesu,

Madam, Your poor Colony of Servants present their humble duties.

George Herbert.

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DR. ROBERT



THE LIFE OF

DR. ROBERT

ANDERSON

LATE LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND, AND HONOURABLE GEORGE LORD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

PRELATE OF THE GARTER, AND

PRIVY COUNCIL

*

My LORD,

If I should undertake to enumerate the many Favours and Advantages I have had by my very long acquaintance with your Lordship, I I should enter upon an Imployment, that might prove as tedious, as the Collecting of the Materials for this poor Monument, which I have erected, and do dedicate to the Memory of your beloved Friend Dr. Sanderson: But, though I will not venture to do that; yet I do remember with pleasure, and remonstrate with gratitude, that your Lordship made me known to him, Mr. Chilingworth, and Dr. Hammond; men, whose Merits ought never to be forgotten.

My Friendship with the first was begun almost Forty years past, when I was as far from a thought, as a desire to out-live him; and farther from an intention to write his Life: But the wise Disposer of all mens Lives and Actions hath prolong'd the first, and now permitted the last; which is here dedicated to your Lordship (and as it ought to be) with all humility, and a desire that it may remain as a publick Testi-

mony of my Gratitude,

My Lord.

Your most Affectionate Old Friend,

And most humble Servant.

[1678]

Izaak Walton.



I DARE neither think, nor assure the Reader, that I have committed no Mistakes in this Relation of the Life of Dr. Sanderson; but am sure, there is none that are either wifful, or very material. I confess, it was worthy the implayment of some Person of more Learning and greater Abilities than I can pretend to; and I have not a little wondred that none have yet been so grateful to him and Posterity, as to undertake it: For as it may be noted, That our Saviour had a care, that for Mary Magdalens kindness to him, her Name should never be forgotten: So I conceive, the great Satisfaction many Schollars have already had, and the unborn World is like to have, by his exact, clear and useful Learning; and might have by a true Narrative of his matchless Mechness, his calm Fortitude, and the Innocence of his whole Life: doth justly challenge the like from this present Age; that Posterity may not be ignorant of them: And I is to me a wonder, that it has been already fifteen years neglected. But, in saying this, my meaning is not to upbraid others (I am far from that) but excuse my self, or beg pardon for daring to attempt it.

This being premis'd, I desire to tell the Reader, that in this Relation I have been so hold, as to paraphrase and say what I think he (whom I had the happiness to know well) would have said upon the same occasions; and if I have been too hold in doing so, and cannot now beg pardon of him that low'd me; yet, I do

of my Reader, from whom I desire the same favour.

And, though my Age might have procur'd me a Writ of Ease, and that secur'd me from all further trouble in this kind; yet I met with such persuasions to undertake it, and so many willing Informers since, and from them and others, such helps and incouragements to proceed, that when I found my self faint, and weary of the burthen with which I had loaden my self, and sometime ready to lay it down; yet time and new strength hath at last brought it to be what it now is, and here presented to the Reader; and with it this desire: That he will take notice that Dr. Sanderson did in his Will or last Sickness advertise, that after his death nothing of his might be Printed; because that might be said to be his, which indeed was not; and also, for that he might have chang'd his Opinion since he first writ it, as 'tis thought he has since he writ

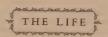
his Pax Ecclesiae. And though these Reasons ought to be regarded, yet regarded so, as he resolves in his Case of Conscience concerning tash Vows, that there may appear very good second Reasons, why we may forbeat to perform them. However, for his said Reasons, they ought to be read as we do Apocriphal Scripture; to explain, but not oblige us to so firm a belief of what is here presented as his.

And I have this to say more; That as in my Queries for writing Dr. Sanderson's Life, I met with these little Tracts annex'd; so in my former Queries for my Information to write the Life of venerable Mr. Hooker, I met with a Sermon, which I also believe was really his, and here presented as his to the Reader. It is affirm'd (and I have met with reason to believe it) that there be some Artists, that do certainly know an Original Picture from a Copy; and in what Age of the World, and by whom draum: And if so, then I hope it may be as safely affirmed, that what is here presented for theirs, is so like their temper of mind, their other writings, the times when, and the occasions upon which they were writ, that all Readers may safely conclude, they could be writ by none but venerable Mr. Hooker, and the humble and learned Dr. Sanderson.

And lastly, the trouble being now past, I look back and am glad that I have collected these Memoirs of this bumble Man, which lay scatter'd, and contracted them into a narrower compass; and, if I have by the pleasant toyl of so doing, either pleas'd or profited any man, I have attain'd what I design'd when I first undertook it: But I seriously wish, both for the Readers, and Dr. Sanderson's sake, that Posterity had known his great Learning and Vertue by a better Pen, by such a Pen, as could have made his Life as immortal as his Learning and Merits ought to be.

[1678]

I.W.



O C T O R Robert Sanderson, the late learned Bishop of Lincoln, whose Life I intend to write with all truth and equal plainness, was born the nineteenth day of September, in the year of our Redemption 1587. The place of his Birth was Ratheram in the County of York: a Town of good note, and the more, for that Thomas Ratheram, sometime Archbishop of that See, was born in it; a man, whose great Wisdom, and Bounty, and Sanctity of Life, gave a denomination to it, or hath made it the more memorable; as indeed it ought also to be, for being the birth-place of our Robert Sanderson. And the Reader will be of my belief, if this humble Relation of his Life can hold any proportion with his great Sanctity, his useful Learning, and his many other extraordinary Endowments.

He was the second and youngest Son of Robert Sanderson of Gilthwait-ball, in the said Parish and County, Esq; by Elizabeth one of the Daughters of Richard Carr of Buterthwate-ball; in the Parish of Ecclesfield in the said County of Yark, Gentleman.

This Robert Sanderson the Father, was descended from a numerous, ancient, and honourable Family of his own Name: for the search of which truth, I refer my Reader, that inclines to it, to Dr. Thoriton's History of the Antiquities of Notinghambire, and other Records; not thinking it necessary here to ingage him into a search for bare Titles, which are noted to have in them nothing of reality: For, Titles not acquir'd, but driv'd only, do but shew us who of our Ancestors have, and how they have atchiev'd that honour which their Descendants claim, and may not be worthy to enjoy. For if those Titles descend to persons that degenerate into Vice, and break off the continued line of Learning, or Valour, or that Vertue that acquir'd them, they destroy the very Foundation upon which that Honour was built; and all the Rubbish of their Degenerousness ought to fall heavy on such dishonourable Heads; ought to fall so heavy, as to degrade them of their Titles, and blast their Memories with reproach and shame.

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But this Robert Sanderson, lived worthy of his Name and Family: Of which one testimony may be, That Gilbert, call'd the Great and Clorious Earl of Streusbury, thought him not unworthy to be joyn'd, with him as a Godfather to Gilbert Sheldon, the late Lord Archbishop of Canterbury; to whose Merits and Memory Posterity (the Clergy especially) ought to pay a Reverence.

But I return to my intended Relation of Robert the Son, who (like Josie that good King) began in his Youth to make the Laws of God, and Obedience to his Parents, the rules of his life; seeming even then, to dedicate himself and all his Studies, to Piety and Vertue.

And, as he was inclin'd to this by that native goodness, with which the wise Disposer of all hearts had endow'd his: So this calm, this quiet and happy temper of mind (his being mild, and averse to oppositions) made the whole course of his life easie and grateful both to himself and others: And this blessed temper, was maintain'd and improv'd by his prudent Fathers good Example; as also, by his frequent conversing with him; and scattering short and vertuous Apothegms with little pleasant Stories, and making useful applications of them, by which his Son was in his Infancy taught to abhor Vanity and Vice as Monsters, and to discern the loveliness of Wisdom and Vertue; and by these means and God's concurring Grace, his knowledge was so augmented, and his native goodness so confirm'd, that all became so habitual, as 'twas not easie to determine whether Nature or Education were his Teachers.

And here let me tell the Reader, That these early beginnings of Vertue were by God's assisting Grace blest with what St. Paul seem'd to beg for his Philippians; I namely, That he that had begun a good Work in them, would finish it. And Almighty God did: For his whole life was so regular and innocent, that he might have said at his death (and with truth and comfort) what the same St. Paul said after to the same Philippians, when he advis'd them to walk as they had him for an Exemple.²

And this goodness, of which, I have spoken, seem'd to increase as

is his years did; and with his goodness his learning, the foundation of which was laid in the Grammer School of Rotheram (that being one of those three that were founded and liberally endow'd by the said great and good Bishop of that Name.) And in this time of his being a Scholar there, he was observ'd to use an unweatied diligence to attain learning, and to have a seriousness beyond his age, and with it a more than common modesty; and to be of so calm and obliging a behaviour, that the Master and whole number of Scholars lov'd him, as one man.

And in this love and amity he continued at that School till about the thirteenth year of his age; at which time his Father design'd to improve his Grammer learning, by removing him from Rotheram to one of the more noted Schools of Eaton or Westminster: and after a years stay there, then to remove him thence to Oxford. But, as he went with him, he call'd on an old Friend, a Minister of noted learning, and told him his intentions; and he, after many questions with his Son, receiv'd such Answers from him, that he assur'd his Father, his Son was so perfect a Grammarian, that he had laid a good foundation to build any, or all the Arts upon; and therefore advis'd him to shorten his journey, and leave him at Oxford. And his Father did so.

His father left him there to the sole care and manage of Dr. Kilbie, who was then Rector of Lincoln Colledge: And he, after some time and trial of his manners and learning, thought fit to enter him of that Colledge, and not long after to matriculate him in the University, which he did the first of July 1603, but he was not chosen Fellow till the third of May 1606. at which time he had taken his Degree of Batchelor of Arts; at the taking of which Degree, his Tutor told the Rector, that his pupil Sanderson bad a Metaphysical brain, and a matchless memory: and that he thought he had improv'd, or made the last so by an Art of his own invention. And all the future imployments of his life prov'd that his Tutor was not mistaken.

I must here stop my Reader, and tell him, that this Dr. Kilbie was a man of so great Learning and Wisdom, and so excellent a Critick in the Hebrew Tongue, that he was made Professor of it in this University; and was also so perfect a Grecian, that he was by King Iomes

appointed to be one of the Translators of the Bible: And that this Doctor and Mr. Sanderson had frequent Discourses, and lov'd as Father and Son. The Doctor was to ride a Journey into Darbyshire, and took Mr. Sanderson to bear him company; and they resting on a Sunday with the Doctor's Friend, and going together to that Parish Church where they then were, found the young Preacher to have no more discretion, than to waste a great part of the hour allotted for his Sermon in exceptions against the late Translation of several words (not expecting such a hearer as Dr. Kilbie) and shew'd three Reasons why a particular word should have been otherwise translated. When Evening Prayer was ended, the Preacher was invited to the Doctor's Friends house; where, after some other Conference, the Doctor told him. He might have preach'd more useful Doctrine, and not fill'd his Auditors ears with needless Exceptions against the late Translation; and for that word, for which he offered to that poor Congregation three Reasons, why it ought to have been translated, as he said; he and others had considered all them, and found thirteen more considerable Reasons, why it was translated as now printed: and told him. If his Friend, then attending him, should prove guilty of such indiscretion, he should forfeit his favour. To which Mr. Sanderson said, He hop'd he should not. And the Preacher was so ingenious as to say, He would not justifie himself. And so I return to Oxford.

In the year 1608. (July the 111h.) Mr. Sanderson was compleated Master of Arts. I am not ignorant, that for the attaining these Digr nities, the time was shorter than was then, or is now required; but either his birth, or the well performance of some extraordinary exercise, or some other merit, made him so: and the Reader is requested to believe that 'twas the last; and requested to believe also, that, if I be mistaken in the time, the Colledge Records have mis-informed me: But I hope they have not.

In that year of 1608, he was (November the 7th.) by his Colledge chosen Reader of Logick in the House, which he performed so well, that he was chosen again the sixth of Novemb. 1609. In the year 1613, he was chosen Sub-rector of the Colledge, and the like for the year 1614, and chose again to the same Dignity and Trust for the year 1616.

In all which time and imployments, his abilities and behaviour were such, as procur'd him both love and reverence from the whole Society; there being no exception against him for any faults, but a sorrow for the Infirmities of his being too timerous and bashful; both which were, God knows, so connatural, as they never left him: And I know not whether his lovers ought to wish they had; for they prov'd so like the Radical moisture in man's body, that they preserv'd the life of Vertue in his Soul, which by God's assisting grace never left him, till this Life put on Immortality. Of which happy infirmities (if they may be so call'd) more hereafter.

In the year 1614, he stood to be elected one of the Proctors for the University. And 'twas not to satisfie any ambition of his own, but to comply with the desire of the Rector and whole Society, of which he was a Member; who had not had a Proctor chosen out of their Colledge for the space of sixty years (namely, not from the year 1554. unto his standing;) and they perswaded him, that if he would but stand for Proctor, his merits were so generally known, and he so well beloved, that 'twas but appearing, and he would infallibly carry it against any Opposers; and told him, That he would by that means recover a right or reputation that was seemingly dead to his Colledge. By these and other like perswasions he yielded up his own reason to theirs, and appear'd to stand for Proctor. But that Election was carried on by so sudden and secret, and by so powerful a Faction, that he mist it. Which when he understood, he profest seriously to his Friends, That if he were troubled at the disappointment, 'twas for theirs, and not for his own sake: For he was far from any desire of such an imployment, as must be managed with charge and trouble, and was too usually rewarded with hard censures, or batred, or both.

In the year following he was earnestly perswaded by Dr. Kilbie and others, to renew the Logick Lectures which he had read some years past in his Colledge: and that done, to methodize and print them, for the ease and publick good of Posterity.

And though he had an aversness to appear publickly in print; yet after many serious solicitations, and some second thoughts of his own, he laid aside his modesty, and promised he would, and he did so in

that year of 1615. And the Book prov'd, as his Friends seem'd to prophecy, that is, of great and general use, whether we respect the Art or the Author. For Logick may be said to be an Art of right reasoning: an Art that undeceives men who take falshood for truth; and enables men to pass a true Judgment, and detect those Fallacies which in some mens Understandings usurp the place of right reason. And how great a Master our Author was in this Art, may easily appear from that clearness of Method, Argument, and Demonstration, which is so conspicuous in all his other Writings. And that he who had attain'd to so great a dexterity in the use of reason himself, was best qualified to prescribe rules and directions for the instruction of others. And I am the more satisfied of the excellency and usefulness of this his first publick Undertaking, by hearing that most Tutors in both Universities teach Dr. Sanderson's Logick to their Pupils, as a Foundation upon which they are to build their future Studies in Philosophy. And for a further confirmation of my belief, the Reader may note, That since this his Book of Logick was first printed, there has not been less than ten thousand sold: And that 'tis like to continue both to discover truth, and to clear and confirm the Reason of the unborn World

It will easily be believed that his former standing for a Proctors place, and being disappointed, must prove much displeasing to a man of his great Wisdom and Modesty, and create in him an aversness to run a second hazard of his credit and content; and yet, he was assur'd by Dr. Kilby, and the Fellows of his own College, and most of those that had oppos'd him in the former Election, that his Book of Logick had purchas'd for him such a belief of his Learning and Prudence, and his behaviour at the former Election had got for him so great and so general a love, that all his former Opposers repented what they had done; and therefore perswaded him to venture to stand a second time. And upon these and other like Incouragements, he did again, (but not without an inward unwillingness,) yield up his own reason to theirs, and promis'd to stand. And he did so; and was the tenth of April, 1616. chosen Senior Proctor for the year following, Mt. Charles Crook of Christ-Charch being then chosen the Junior.

In this year of his being Proctor there happened many memorable accidents part of which I will relate; namely, Dr. Robert Abbot, Master of Balial College, and Regius Professor of Divinity (who being elected or consecrated Bishop of Sarum some months before) was solemnly conducted out of Oxford towards his Diocess, by the Heads of all Houses, and the other chiefs of all the University. And it may be noted that Dr. Priliaux succeeded him in the Professorship, in which he continued till the year 1642. (being then elected Bishop of Worcester) at which time our now Proctor Mr. Sanderson succeeded him in the Regius Professorship.

And in this year Dr. Arthur Lake (then Warden of New College) was advanced to the Bishoprick of Bath and Wells: A man of whom I take my self bound in Justice to say, That he made the great trust committed to him, the chief care and whole business of his life. And one testimony of this truth may be, That he sate usually with his Chancellor in his Consistory, and at least advis'd, if not assisted in most sentences for the punishing of such Offenders as deserved Church Censures. And it may be noted, That after a Sentence for Penance was pronounced, he did very rarely or never, allow of any Commutation for the Offence, but did usually see the Sentence for Penance executed; and then, as usually preach'd a Sermon of Mortification and Repentance, and so apply them to the Offenders, that then stood before him, as begot in them, then, a devout contrition, and at least resolutions to amend their lives; and having done that, he would take them (though never so poor) to dinner with him, and use them friendly, and dismiss them with his blessing, and perswasions to a vertuous life, and beg them for their own sakes to believe him. And his Humility, and Charity, and all other Christian Excellencies were all like this. Of all which the Reader may inform himself in his Life, truly writ and printed before his excellent Sermons.

And in this year also, the very prudent and very wise Lord Elsmere, who was so very long Lord Chancellor of England, and then of Oxford, resigning up the last, the right Honourable, and as magnificent, William Herbert Earl of Pembroke, was chosen to succeed him.

And in this year, our late King Charles the First (then Prince of

Wales) came honourably attended to Oxford; and having deliberately visited the University, the Schools, Colleges, and Libraries, He and his Attendants were entertained with Ceremonies and Featting surable to their Dignity and Merits.

And in this year King James sent Letters to the University for the regulating their Studies; especially of the young Divines: Advising they should not rely on modern Sums and Systemes, but study the Fathers and Councils, and the more Primitive Learning. And this advice was occasioned by the indiscreet inferences made by very many Preachers out of Mr. Calvin's Doctrine concerning Predestination, Universal Redemption, the Irresistibility of God's Grace, and of some other knotty Points depending upon these; Points which many think were not, but by Interpreters forc'd to be Mr. Calvin's meaning; of the truth or falsehood of which, I pretend not to have an ability to judge; my meaning in this Relation being only to acquaint the Reader with the occasion of the Kine's Letter.

It may be observed, that the various accidents of this year did afford our Proctor large and laudable matter to dilate and discourse upon: And, that though his Office seem'd, according to Statute and Custome, to require him to do so at his leaving it; yet he chose rather to pass them over with some very short Observations, and present the Governors, and his other Hearers, with rules to keep up Discipline and Order in the University; which at that time was either by defective Statutes, or want of the due execution of those that were good, grown to be extreamly irregular. And in this year also, the Magisterial part of the Proctor requir'd more diligence, and was more difficult to be managed than formerly, by reason of a multiplicity of new Statutes, which begot much confusion; some of which Statutes were then and not till then, and others suddenly after, put into a useful execution. And though these Statutes were not then made so perfectly useful, as they were design'd, till Archbishop Laud's time (who assisted in the forming and promoting them;) yet, our present Proctor made them as effectual as discretion and diligence could do: Of which one Example may seem worthy the noting, namely, That if in his Nightwalk he met with irregular Scholars absent from their Colleges at

University hours, or disordered by drink, or in scandalous company, he did not use his power of punishing to an extremity; but did usually take their names, and a promise to appear before him unsent for next morning: And when they did, convinced them with such obligingeness, and reason added to it, that they parted from him with such resolutions as the man after God's own heart was possest with, when he said to God, There is Mercy with thee, and therefore thou shall be feared. And by this, and a like behaviour to all men, he was so happy as to lay down this dangerous imployment, as but very few, if any have done, even without an Exemy.

After his Procters Speech was ended, and he retir'd with a Friend into a convenient privacy; he look'd upon his Friend with a more than common chearfulness, and spake to him to this purpose. I look back upon my late imployment with some content to my self, and a great thankfulness to Almighty God, that he hath made me of a temper not apt to provoke the meanest of mankind, but rather to pass by Infirmities, if noted; and in this Imployment I have had (God knows) many occasions to do both. And when I consider how many of a contrary temper, are by sudden and small occasions transported, and burried by Anger to commit such Errors, as they in that passion could not foresee, and will in their more calm and deliberate thoughts uphraid, and require repentance! And consider, that though Repentance secures us from the punishment of any sin, yet how much more comfortable it is to be innocent, than need pardon: And consider, that Errors against men, though pardon'd both by God and them, do yet leave such anxious and upbraiding impressions in the memory, as abates of the Offender's content: When I consider all this, and that God hath of his goodness given me a temper that hath prevented me from running into such enormities, I remember my temper with joy and thankfulness. And though I cannot say with David (I wish I could) that therefore his praise shall always be in my mouth;2 yet I hope, that by his grace, and that grace seconded by my endeavours, it shall never be blotted out of my memory; and I now beseech Almighty God that it never may. And here I must look back, and mention one passage more in his

And nere I must look back, and mention one passage more in his Proctorship, which is; That Gilbert Sheldon, the late Lord Archbishop

of Canterbury, was this year sent to Trinity College in that University: and not long after his entrance there, a Letter was sent after him from his Godfather (the Father of our Proctor) to let his Son know it, and commend his Godson to his acquaintance, and to a more than common care of his behaviour; which prov'd a pleasing injunction to our Proctor, who was so gladly obedient to his Fathers desire, that he some few days after sent his Servitor to intreat Mr. Sheldon to his Chamber next morning. But it seems Mr. Sheldon having (like a young man as he was) run into some such irregularity as made him conscious he had transgressed his Statutes, did therefore apprehend the Proctor's invitation as an introduction to punishment; the fear of which made his Bed restless that night; but at their meeting the next morning, that fear vanish'd immediately by the Proctor's chearful countenance, and the freedom of their discourse of Friends. And let me tell my Reader, that this first meeting prov'd the beginning of as spiritual a friendship as human nature is capable of: of a friendship free from all self-ends; and it continued to be so, till death forc'd a separation of it on earth; but 'tis now reunited in heaven.

And now, having given this account of his behaviour, and the considerable accidents in his Proctorship, I proceed to tell my Reader, that this busic imployment being ended, he preach'd his Sermon for his degree of Batchelor in Divinity, in as eligant Latin, and as remarkable for the method and matter, as hath been preached in that University since that day. And having well performed his other Exercises for that degree, he took it the nine and twentieth of May following, having been ordained Deacon and Priest in the year 1611. by John King, then Bishop of London, who had not long before been Dean of Christ-Church, and then knew him so well, that he own'd it at his Ordination, and became his more affectionate Friend. And in this year, being then about the 29th. of his Age, he took from the University a Licence to preach.

In the year 1618, he was by Sir Nicholas Sanderson, Lord Viscount Castleton, presented to the Rectory of Wibberton, not far from Boston, in the County of Lincoln, a Living of very good value; but it lay in so low and wet a part of that Countrey, as was inconsistent with his

health. And health, being (next to a good Conscience) the greatest of God's blessings in this life, and requiring therefore of every man a care and diligence to preserve it; and he, apprehending a danger of losing it if he continued at Wibberton a second Winter, did therefore resign it back into the hands of his worthy Kinsman and Patron, about one year after his donation of it to him.

And about this time of his resignation he was presented to the Rectory of Boothby Pannel in the same County of Lincoln; a Town which has been made famous, and must continue to be famous, because Dr. Sanderson, the humble and learned Dr. Sanderson, was more than fourty years Parson of Boothby Pannel, and from thence dated all, or most of his matchless Writings.

To this Living (which was of less value, but a purer Air than Wibberton) he was presented by Thomas Harrington of the same County and Parish, Esq.; a Gentleman of a very ancient Family, and of great use and esteem in his Countrey during his whole life. And in this Boothby Pannel the meek and charitable Dr. Sanderson and his Patron liv'd with an endeating, mutual, and comfortable friendship, till the death of the last put a period to it.

About the time that he was made Parson of Boothby Pannel, he resign'd his Fellowship of Lincoln Colledge unto the then Rector and Fellows: And his resignation is recorded in these words:

Ego Robertus Sanderson per, &c.

I Robert Sanderson, Fellow of the Colledge of St. Maries and All-Saints, commonly call'd Lincoln Colledge, in the University of Oxford, do freely and willingly resign into the bands of the Rector and Fellows, all the Right and Title that I have in the said Colledge; wishing to them and their Successors, all peace, and piety, and happiness, in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

May 6. 1619.

Robert Sanderson.

And not long after this resignation, he was by the then Bishop of York, (or the King, Sede vacante;) made Prebend of the Collegiate

Church of South-well in that Diocess; and shortly after of Lincoln by the Bishop of that See.

And being now resolv'd to set down his rest in a quiet privacy at Boothby Pannel, and looking back with some sadness upon his removal from his general and chearful Acquaintance left in Oxford, and the peculiar pleasures of a University life; he could not but think the want of Society would render this of a Countrey Parson still more uncomfortable, by reason of that want of conversation; and therefore he did put on some faint purposes to marry. For he had considered, that though marriage be cumbred with more worldly care than a single life; yet, a complying and a prudent Wife, changes those very cares into so mutual Jovs, as makes them become like the Sufferings of St. Paul, which he would not have wanted, because they occasioned his rejoycing in them. And he having well considered this, and observ'd the secret unutterable joys that Children beget in Parents, and the mutual pleasures and contented trouble of their daily care and constant endeavours to bring up those little Images of themselves, so, as to make them as happy as all those cares and endeavours can make them: He, having considered all this; the hopes of such happiness turn'd his faint purpose into a positive resolution to marry. And he was so happy as to obtain Anne, the daughter of Henry Nelson Batchelor in Divinity, then Rector of Haugham in the County of Lincoln (a man of noted worth and learning.) And the giver of all good things was so good to him, as to give him such a Wife as was sutable to his own desires; a Wife, that made his life happy by being always content when he was chearful; that divided her joys with him, and abated of his sortow, by bearing a part of that burthen; a Wife, that demonstrated her affection by a chearful obedience to all his desires, during the whole course of his life; and at his death too; for she out liv'd him.

And in this Boothby Pannel he either found or made his Parishioners peaceable, and complying with him in the constant decent and regular service of God. And thus his Parish, his Patron, and he liv'd together.

in a religious love, and a contented quietness: He not troubling their thoughts by preaching high and useless notions, but such, and only such plain truths as were necessary to be known, believed, and practised, in order to the honor of God and their own salvation. And their assent to what he taught was testified by such a conformity to his Doctrine, as declared they believed and loved him. For it may be noted he would often say, That without the last, the most evident truths (beard as from an enemy, or an evil liver) either are not, (or are at least the less) effectual; and usually rather barden, than convince the bearer.

And this excellent man did not think his duty discharged by only reading the Church Prayers, Catechizing, Preaching, and administring the Sacraments seasonably; but thought (if the Law, or the Canons may seem to injoyn no more, yet) that God would require more than the defective Laws of man's making, can or does injoyn; even the performance of that inward Law, which Almighty God hath imprinted in the Conscience of all good Christians, and inclines those whom he loves to perform. He considering this, did therefore become a law to himself, practising not only what the Law injoyns, but what his Conscience told him was his duty, in reconciling differences, and preventing Law-suits, both in his Parish and in the Neighbourhood. To which may be added his often visiting sick and disconsolate Families, perswading them to patience, and raising them from dejection by his advice and chearful discourse, and by adding his own Alma, if there were any so poor as to need it; considering how acceptable it is to Almighty God, when we do as we are advis'd by St. Paul, 1 help to bear one anothers burthen, either of sorrow or want: and what a comfort it will be, when the Searcher of all hearts shall call us to a strict account as well for that evil we have done, as the good we have omitted; to remember we have comforted and been helpful to a dejected or distressed Family.

And that his practice was to do good, the following Narrative may be one Example, "He met with a poor dejected Neighbour that com-"plain'd he had taken a Meadow, the Rent of which was 9 l. a year;

"and when the Hay was made ready to be carried into his Barn, "several days constant rain had so raised the water, that a sudden "Flood carried all away, and his rich Landlord would bate him no "rent; and that unless he had half abated, he and seven children were "utterly undone. It may be noted, That in this Age there are a sort of people so unlike the God of mercy, so void of the bowels of pity, that they love only themselves and children; love them so, as not to be concern'd, whether the rest of mankind waste their days in sorrow or shame; People that are curst with riches, and a mistake that nothing but riches can make them and theirs happy. But 'twas not so with Dr. Sanderson; for he was concern'd, and spoke comfortably to the poor dejected man; bade him go home and pray, and not load himself with sorrow, for he would go to his Landlord next morning, and if his Landlord would not abate what he desired, he and a Friend would pay it for him.

if his Landlord would not abate what he desired, he and a Friend To the Landlord he went the next day; and in a conference, the Doctor presented to him the sad condition of his poor dejected Tenant; "telling him how much God is pleas'd when men compassionate the "poor: and told him, That though God loves Sacrifice, yet he loves "Mercy so much better, that he is best pleas'd when he is call'd the "God of mercy: And told him the riches he was possest of were given "him by that God of mercy, who would not be pleas'd, if he that had "so much given, yea, and forgiven him to, should prove like the rich "Steward in the Gospel, that took his fellow servant by the throat to make "bim pay the utmost farthing. This he told him, And told him, That "the Law of this Nation (by which Law he claims his Rent) does not "undertake to make men honest or merciful; (that was too nice an under-"taking:) but does what it can to restrain men from being dishonest or "unmerciful, and yet that our Law was defective in both; and that "taking any Rent from his poor Tenant, for what God suffered him "not to enjoy, though the Law allowed him to do so, yet if he did so, "he was too like that rich Steward which he had mentioned to him: "and told him that riches so gotten, and added to his great Estate. "would, as Job says, prove like gravel in his teeth; would in time, so "corrode his Conscience, or become so nauseous when he lay upon

"his Death-bed, that he would then labour to vomit it up, and not "be able: and therefore advis'd him (being very tich,) to make Friends "of his unrighteaus Mammon, before that evil day come upon him: But "however, neither for his own sake, nor for God's sake, to take any "Rent of his poor dejected sad Tenant, for that were to gain a temporal, "and lose his eternal happiness. These and other such reasons, were urged with so grave and so compassionate an earnestness, that the Landlord forgave his Tenant the whole Rent.

The Reader will easily believe that Dr. Sanderson, who was himself so meek and merciful, did suddenly and gladly carry this comfortable news to the dejected Tenant; and will believe also, that at the telling of it there was a mutual rejoycing. Twas one of Job's boasts, That he had seen none perish for want of cloathing: and that he had often made the heart of the widow to rejoyce. And doubtless Dr. Sanderson might have made the same religious boast of this, and very many like occasions: But since he did not, I rejoyce that I have this just occasion to do it for him; and that I can tell the Reader, I might tire my self and him in telling how like the whole course of Dr. Sanderson's life was to this which I have now related.

Thus he went on in an obscure and quiet privacy, doing good daily both by word and by deed, as often as any occasion offered it self; yet not so obscurely, but that his very great Learning, Prudence, and Piety were much noted and valued by the Bishop of his Diocess, and by most of the Nobility and Gentry of that County. By the first of which he was often summon'd to preach many Visitation Sermons, and by the latter at many Assises. Which Sermons, though they were much esteemed by them that procured and were fit to judge them; yet they were the less valued, because he read them, which he was forc'd to do; for though he had an extraordinary memory (even the Art of it) yet he was punish'd with such an innate, invincible fear and bashfulness, that his memory was wholly useless, as to the repetition of his Sermons, so as he had writ them; which gave occasion to say, when some of them were first printed and exposed to censure, (which was in the year 1632.) That the best Sermons that were ever read, were never preach'd.

In this contented obscurity he continued, till the learned and pious Archbishop Laud, who knew him well in Oxford (for he was his contemporary there) told the King ('twas the knowing and conscientious King Charles the I.) that there was one Mr. Sanderson, an obscure Country Minister, that was of such sincerity, and so excellent in all Casuistical Learning, that he desired his Majesty would take so much notice of him as to make him his Chaplain. The King granted it most willingly, and gave the Bishop charge to hasten it, for he long'd to discourse with a man that had dedicated his Studies to that useful part of learning. The Bishop forgot not the King's desire, and Mr. Sanderson was made his Chaplain in Ordinary in November following, (1631.) And when the King and he became better known to each other, then, as 'tis said, that after many hard Questions put to the Prophet Daniel, King Darius found 1 an excellent Spirit in him; so 'twas with Mr. Sanderson and our excellent King; who having put many Cases of Conscience to him, received from Mr. Sanderson such deliberate, safe, and clear solutions, as gave him so great content in conversing with him, (which he did several times in private) That at the end of his months Attendance the King told him: He should long for the next November; for he resolv'd to have a more inward Acquaintance with him, when that month and he return'd. And when the month and he did return, the good King was never absent from his Sermons, and would usually say, I carry my ears to hear other Preachers, but I carry my Conscience to bear Mr. Sanderson, and to act accordingly: And this ought not to be conceal'd from Posterity, That the King thought what he spake: For he took him to be his Adviser in that quiet part of his life, and he prov'd to be his Comforter in those days of his affliction, when he was under such a restraint as he apprehended himself to be in danger of Death or Deposing. Of which more hereafter.

In the first Parliament of this good King (which was 1625.) he was chosen to be a Clerk of the Convocation for the Diocess of Lincoln, which I here mention, because about that time did arise many dis-

¹ Dan. 6.

putes about Predestination, and the many Critical Points that depend upon, or are interwoven in it; occasioned, as was said, by a disquisition of new Principles of Mr. Calvin's (though others say they were before his time.) But of these Dr. Sanderson then drew up for his own satisfaction such a Scheme (he call'd it Pax Ecclesia) as then gave himself, and hath since given others such satisfaction, that it still remains to be of great estimation. He was also chosen Clerk of all the Convocations during that good Kings reign. Which I here tell my Reader, because I shall hereafter have occasion to mention that Convocation in 1640, that unhappy long Parliament, and some debates of the Predestinarian Points, as they have been since charitably handled betwixt him, the learned Dr. Hammond, and Dr. Peirce, the now reverend Dean of Salisbury. And here the Reader may note, that in letters writ to the said Dean, Dr. Sanderson seems to have alter'd his Judgment in some Points, since he writ his Scheme called Pax Ecclesia, which he seems to say in his last Will, besides other reasons to think so. In the year 1636, his Majesty then in his Progress took a fair occasion

In the year 1636. his Majesty then in his Progress took a fair occasion to visit Oxford, and to take an entertainment for two days for himself and his honourable Attendants, which the Reader ought to believe was sutable to their dignities: But, this is mentioned, because at the King's coming thither May 3. Sanderson did then attend him; and was then (the 31 of August) created Doctor of Divinity; which honor had an addition to it, by having many of the Nobility of this Nation then made Doctors and Masters of Art with him: Some of whose names shall be recorded and live with his (and none shall out-live it.) First Dr. Curle and Dr. Wren, who were then Bishops of Winton and of Norwwith (and had formerly taken their degrees in Cambridge) were with him created Doctors of Divinity in his University. So was Merikk the Son of the learned Izaak Casaukow; and Prince Rupert (who still lives) the then Duke of Lenox, Earl of Hearford, Earl of Essex, of Barkshire, and very many others of noble Birth (too many to be named) were then created Masters of Arts.

Some years before the unhappy long Parliament, this Nation being then happy and in peace (though inwardly sick of being well) namely in the year 1639. a discontented party of the Scots Church were zeal-

ously restless for another Reformation of their Kirk Government; and to that end created a new Covenant, for the general taking of which they pretended to petition the King for his assent, and that he would injoyn the taking of it by all of that Nation: but this Petition was not to be presented to him by a Committee of eight or ten men of their Fraternity, but by so many thousands, and they so arm'd, as seem'd to force an assent to what they seem'd but to request; so that though forbidden by the King, yet they entred England, and in their heat of Zeal took and plunder'd New-Castle, where the King was forc'd to meet them with an Army; but upon a Treaty and some concessions, he sent them back (though not so rich as they intended, yet) for that time without bloodshed: But oh! this Peace and this Covenant were but the forerunners of War, and the many miseries that followed: For in the year following there were so many chosen into the long Parliament, that were of a conjunct Council with these very zealous, and as factious Reformers, as begot such a confusion by the several desires and designs in many of the Members of that Parliament (all did never consent) and at last in the very common people of this Nation, that they were so lost by contrary designs, fears and confusions, as to believe the Scots and their Covenant would restore them to that former tranquillity which they had lost. And to that end, the Presbyterian party of this Nation did again, in the year 1643, invite the Scotch Covenanters back into England: and hither they came marching with it gloriously upon their Pikes, and in their Hats, with this Motto, For the Crown and Covenant of both Kingdoms. This I saw, and suffer'd by it. But when I look back upon the ruine of Families, the bloodshed, the decay of common honesty, and how the former piety and plain-dealing of this now sinful Nation is turn'd into cruelty and cunning! when I consider this. I praise God that he prevented me from being of that party which help'd to bring in this Covenant, and those sad Confusions that have follow'd it. And I have been the bolder to say this of my self, because in a sad discourse with Dr. Sanderson. I heard him make the like grateful acknowledgment.

This digression is intended for the better information of the Reader in what will follow concerning Dr. Sanderson. And first, That the

Covenanters of this Nation, and their Party in Parliament, made many Exceptions against the common Prayer and Ceremonies of the Church, and seem'd restless for another Reformation: And though their desires seem'd not reasonable to the King and the learned Dr. Laud, then Archbishop of Canterbury and many others; yet to quiet their Consciences, and prevent future confusion, they did in the year 1641. desire Dr. Sanderson to call two more of the Convocation to advise with him, and that he would then draw up some such safe alterations as he thought fit in the Service-Book, and abate some of the Ceremonies that were least material, for satisfying their consciences; and to this end he and two others did meet together privately twice a week at the Dean of Westminster's House, (for the space of five months or more.) But not long after that time, when Dr. Sanderson had made the Reformation ready for a view, the Church and State were both fall'n into such a confusion, that Dr. Sanderson's Model for Reformation became then useless. Nevertheless the Repute of his Moderation and Wisdom was such, that he was in the year 1642. propos'd by both Houses of Parliament to the King then in Oxford, to be one of their Trustees for the settling of Church affairs, and was allowed of by the King to be so; but that Treaty came to nothing,

In the year 1643. the 2 Houses of Parliament took upon them to make an Ordinance, and call an Assembly of Divines, to debate and settle some Church-controversies (of which many that were elected were very unfit to judger) in which Dr. Sanderson was also named by the Parliament, but did not appear, I suppose for the same reason that many other worthy and learned men did forbear, the Summons wanting the King's Authority.

And here I must look back and tell the Reader, that in the year 1642. he was (July 21.) named by a more undoubted Authority to a more noble imployment, which was to be Professor Regius of Divinity in Oxford; but though Knowledge be said to puff up, yet his modesty and too mean an opinion of his great Abilities, and some other real or pretended reasons (express in his Speech, when he first appeared in the Chair, and since printed) kept him from entring into it till October 1646.

He did for about a years time continue to read his matchless Lectures. which were first de Juramento, a Point very Serapbical, and as difficult. and at that time very dangerous to be handled as it ought to be. But this learned man, as he was eminently furnished with Abilities to satisfie the consciences of men upon that important Subject; so he wanted not courage to assert the true obligation of it, and Oaths, in a degenerate Age, when men had made perjury a main part or at least very useful to their Religion. How much the learned world stands obliged to him for these and his following Lectures de Conscientia, I shall not attempt to declare, as being very sensible that the best Pens fall short in the commendation of them: So that I shall only add. That they continue to this day, and will do for ever, as a complete standard for the resolution of the most material doubts in that part of Casuistical Divinity: And therefore I proceed to tell the Reader, That about the time of his reading those Lectures (the King being then Prisoner in the Isle of Wight) that part of the Parliament then at Westminster sent the Covenant, the Negative Oath, and I know not what more to Oxford, to be taken by the Doctor of the Chair, and all Heads of Houses: and all other inferiour Scholars of what degree soever, were also to take these Oaths by a fixed day; for those that did not, were to abandon their Colledges and the University too, within 24 hours after the beating of a Drum; And if they remain'd longer, they were to be proceeded against as Spies.

Dr. Laud the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Eatl of Strafford, and many others, had been formerly murthered, but the King yet was not; and the University had yet some faint hopes that in a Treaty then in being, betwirk thim, and them that confined him, or pretended to be suddenly, there might be such an Agreement made, that the dissenters in the University might both preserve their Consciences and the poor Subsistance which they then enjoyed by their Colledges.

And being possess'd of this mistaken hope, That the men in present Power were not yet grown so merciless as not to allow manifest reason for their not submitting to the enjoyn'd Oaths, the University appointed twenty Delegates to meet, consider, and draw up a Manifesto to them, why they could not take those Oaths but by violation of

their Consciences; And of these Delegates Dr. Sheldon (late Archbishop of Canterbury) Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sanderson, Dr. Morley (now Bishop of Winchester) and that most honest, very learned, and as judicious Civil Lawyer, Dr. Zouch, were a part; the rest I cannot now name: but the whole number of the Delegates requested Dr. Zouch to draw up the Law part, and give it to Dr. Sanderson, and he was requested to methodize and add what referr'd to reason and conscience, and put it into form. He vielded to their desires, and did so. And then after they had been read in a full Convocation, and allow'd of, they were printed in Latin, that the Parliaments proceedings and the Universities sufferings might be manifested to all Nations; and the Imposers of these Oaths might repent, or answer them: But they were past the first; and for the latter, I might swear they neither can, nor ever will. And these reasons were also suddenly turn'd into English by Dr. Sanderson, that those of these three Kingdoms might the better judge of the cause of the Loyal Parties sufferings.

About this time the Independents (who were then grown to be the most powerful part of the Army) had taken the King from a close to a more large imprisonment, and by their own pretences to liberty of Conscience, were obliged to allow somewhat like that to the King, who had in the year 1646. sent for Dr. Sanderson, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sheldon (the late Archbishop of Canterbury) and Dr. Morley (the now Bishop of Winchester) to attend him, in order to advise with them, how far he might with a good Conscience comply with the Proposals of the Parliament for a Peace in Church and State; but these having been then denied him by the Presbyterian Parliament, were now by their own rules allow'd him by those Independants now in present power. And with some of those other Divines, Dr. Sanderson also gave his attendance on his Majesty also in the Isle of Wight; preach'd there before him, and had in that attendance many, both publick and private Conferences with him, to his Majesties great satisfaction. At which time he desir'd Dr. Sanderson, that being the Parliament had then propos'd to him the abolishing of Episcopal Government in the Church, as inconsistent with Monarchy, and selling theirs and the Cathedral Church-Land to pay those Soldiers that they had rais'd to

fight against him, that he would consider of it, and declare his judgment: He undertook to do so, and did it; but it might not be printed till our King's happy Restoration, and then it was. And at Dr. Sanderson's then taking his leave of his Majesty in this his last attendance on him, the King requested him to betake himself to the writing Cases of Conscience for the good of Posterity. To which his answer was, That he was now grown old, and unfit to write Cases of Conscience. But the King was so bold with him as to say; It was the simplest answer he ever heard from Dr. Sanderson; for no young man was fit to be a Judge, or write Cases of Conscience. And let me here take occasion to tell the Reader this truth, very fit, but not commonly known; that in one of these Conferences this Conscientious King was told by a faithful and private Intelligencer, that if he assented not to the Parliaments Proposals, the Treaty'twixt him and them would break immediately, and his Life would then be in danger; be was sure be knew it. To which his answer was, I have done what I can to bring my Conscience to a complyance with their Proposals and cannot, and I will not lose my Conscience to save my Life; and within a very short time after, he told Dr. Sanderson and Dr. Morley, or one of them that then waited with him, "That the remembrance of two Errors did much "afflict him, which were, his assent to the Earl of Strafford's death, and the "abolishing Episcopacy in Scotland; and that if God ever restored him to be "in a veaceable possession of his Crown, be would demonstrate his Repentance "by a publick Confession and a voluntary Pennance (I think barefoot) from "the Tower of London, or Whitehall, to St. Paul's Church, and desire "the people to intercede with God for his pardon. I am sure one of them told it me, lives still, and will witness it. And it ought to be observ'd, that Dr. Sanderson's Lectures de Juramento were so approv'd and valu'd by the King, that in this time of his imprisonment and solitude, he translated them into exact English, desiring Dr. Juxson (then Bishop of London) Dr. Hammond, and Sir Thomas Herbert (who then attended him in his restraint) to compare them with the Original. The last still lives, and has declared it, with some other of that King's excellencies, in a Letter under his own hand, which was lately shew'd me by Sir William Dugdale, King at Arms. The translation was design'd to be put into the King's Library at St. James's, but I doubt,

not now to be found there. I thought the honor of the Author and the Translator to be both so much concerned in this Relation, that it ought not to be concealed from the Reader, and 'tis therefore here inserted.

I now return to Dr. Sanderson in the Chair in Oxford, where they that comply'd not in taking the Covenant, Negative Oath, and Parliament Ordinance for Church Discipline and Worship, were under a sad and daily apprehension of Expulsion; for the Visiters were daily expected, and both City and University full of Soldiers, and a party of Presbyterian Divines, that were as greedy and ready to possess, as the ignorant and ill-natur'd Visiters were to eject the dissenters out of their Colledges and Livelyhoods: But notwithstanding Dr. Sanderson did still continue to read his Lecture, and did to the very faces of those Presbyterian Divines and Soldiers, read with so much reason. and with a calm fortitude make such applications, as if they were not, they ought to have been asham'd, and beg'd pardon of God and him, and forborn to do what follow'd. But these thriving sinners were hard'ned; and as the Visiters expel'd the Orthodox, they without scruple or shame, possest themselves immediately of their Colledges: so that with the rest, Dr. Sanderson was (in June 1648.) forc'd to pack up and be gone, and thank God he was not imprison'd, as Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Hammond, and others then were.

I must now again look back to Oxford, and tell my Reader, that the year before this expulsion, when the University had deny'd this Subscription, & apprehended the danger of that Visitation which followed, they sent Dr. Morley, then Canon of Christ-Church (now Lord Bishop of Winchester) and others, to petition the Patliament for recalling the Injunction, or a mitigation of it, or to accept of their Reasons why they could not take the Oaths injoyn'd them; and the Petition was by Parliament referr'd to a Committee to hear and report the Reasons to the House, and a day set for hearing them. This done, Dr. Morley and the rest went to inform and fee Counsel, to plead their Cause on the day appointed: but there had been so many committed for pleading, that none durst be so bold as to undertake it cordially; for at this time the priviledges of that part of the Parliament

then sitting, were become a Noli me tangere; as sacred and useful to them, as Traditions ever were, or are now to the Church of Rome; their number must never be known, and therefore not without danger to be meddled with. For which Reason Dr. Morley was forc'd, for want of Counsel, to plead the Universities Reasons for not complyance with the Parliaments injunctions; and though this was done with great reason, and a boldness equal to the Justice of his Cause: yet the effect of it was, but that he and the rest appearing with him were so fortunate, as to return to Oxford without commitment. This was some few days before the Visiters and more Soldiers were sent down to drive the Dissenters out of the University. And one that was at this time of Dr. Morley's pleading a powerful man in the Parliament, and of that Committee, observing Dr. Morley's behaviour and reason, and inquiring of him, and hearing a good report of his Principles in Religion and of his Morals, was therefore willing to afford him a peculiar favour; and that he might express it, sent for me that relate this Story, and knew Dr. Morley well, and told me, He had such a love for Dr. Morley, that knowing he would not take the Oaths, and must therefore be ejected his Colledge, and leave Oxford; he desired I would therefore write to him to ride out of Oxford when the Visiters came into it, and not return till they left it, and be should be sure then to return in safety; and that by so doing he should without taking any Oath or other molestation, enjoy his Canons place in his Colledge. I did receive this intended kindness with a sudden gladness, because I was sure the party had a power to do what he profest, and as sure he meant to perform it, and did therefore write the Doctor word: to which his Answer was, That I must not fail to return my Friend (who still lives) his humble and undissembled thanks, though he could not accept of his intended kindness; for when Dr. Fell (then the Dean), Dr. Gardner, Dr. Paine, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sanderson, and all the rest of the Colledge, were turn'd out, except Dr. Wall, he should take it to be, if not a sin, yet a shame to be left behind with him only. Dr. Wall I knew, and will speak nothing of him, for he is dead,

It may be easily imagined, with what a joyful willingness these selfloving Reformers took possession of all vacant preferments, and with what reluctance others parted with their beloved Colledges and Sub-

sistance: but their Consciences were dearer than both, and out they went; the Reformers possessing them without shame or scruple, where I will leave these Scruple-Mongers, and proceed to make an account of the then present Affairs of London, to be the next imployment of my Readers patience.

And in London all the Bishops Houses were turn'd to be Prisons, and they fill'd with Divines that would not take the Covenant, or forbear reading Common Prayer, or that were accus'd for some faults like these. For it may be noted, That about this time the Parliament set out a Proclamation to incourage all Lay-men that had occasion to complain of their Ministers, for being troublesome or scandalous, or that conformed not to Orders of Parliament, to make their complaint to a select Committee for that purpose; and the Minister though one hundred miles from London, was to appear there and give satisfaction, or be sequestred; (and you may be sure no Parish could want a covetous, or malicious, or cross-grain'd complainant;) by which means all Prisons in London, and in many other places, became the sad habitations of Conforming Divines.

And about this time the Bishop of Canterbury having been by an unknown Law condemned to die, and the execution suspended for some days, many Citizens fearing time and cool thoughts might procure his Pardon, became so maliciously impudent as to shut up their Shops, professing not to open them till Justice was executed. This malice and madness is scarce credible, but I saw it.

The Bishops had been about this time voted out of the House of Parliament, & some upon that occasion sent to the Tower, which made many Covenanters rejoyce, and most of them to believe Mr. Brightman (who probably was a well meaning man) to be inspired when he writ his Comment on the Apocalyps; a short Abridgment of which was now printed, cryed up and down the Streets and call'd Mr. Brightman's Revelation of the Revelation, and both bought up and believ'd by all the Covenanters: And though he was grosly mistaken in other things, yet, because he had made the Churches of Geneva and Sotoland (which had no Bishops) to be Philadelphia in the Apocalyps, that Angel that God loved; and the power of Prelacy to be

Antichrist, the evil Angel, which the House of Commons had now so spued up, as never to recover their dignity: Therefore did those Covenanters rejoyee, approve, and applaud Mr. Brightman for discovering and forteelling the Bishops downfall; so that they both rail'd at them, and at the same time rejoye'd to buy good pennyworths of all their Land, which their Friends of the House of Commons, did afford both to themselves and them, as a reward for their zeal and diligent assistance to pull them down.

And the Bishops power being now vacated, the common people were made so happy, as that every Parish might choose their own Minister, and tell him when he did, and when he did not preach true Doctrine: and by this and the like means several Churches had several Teachers, that pray'd and preach'd for and against one another; and ingag'd their hearers to contend furiously for truths which they understood not; some of which I shall mention in what will follow.

I have heard of two men that in their discourse undertook to give a character of a third person; and one concluded he was a very honest man, for he was beholden to him; and the other that he was not, for he was not beholden to him. And something like this was in the designs both of the Covenanters and Independants (the last of which were now grown both as numerous and as powerful as the former;) for though they differ'd much in many Principles, and preach'd against each other, one making it a sign of being in the state of grace, if we were but zealous for the Covenant; and the other not; for we ought to buy and sell by a Measure, and to allow the same liberty of Conscience to others, which we by Scripture claim to our selves; and therefore not to force any to swear the Covenant contrary to their Consciences, and probably loose both their Livings and Liberties too. But though these differed thus in their conclusions, yet they both agreed in their practice to preach down Common Prayer, and get into the best sequestred Livings; and whatever became of the true Owners, their Wives and Children, yet to continue in them without the least scruple of Conscience.

They also made other strange Observations of Election, Reprobation, and Free-will, and the other Points dependant upon these; such as

the wisest of the common people were not fit to judge of: I am sure I am not, though I must mention some of them historically in a more proper place, when I have brought my Reader with me to Dr. Sanderson at Boothby Ponnel.

And in the way thither I must tell him, That a very Covenanter and a Scot too, that came into England with this unhappy Covenant, was got into a good sequestred Living by the help of a Presbyterian Parish, which had got the true Owner out. And this Scotch Presbyterian being well settled in this good Living, began to reform the Churchyard, by cutting down a large Ewe Tree, and some other Trees that were an ornament to the place, and very often a shelter to the Parishioners; and they excepting against him for so doing, were by him answered, That the Trees were bis, and 'twas lawful for every man to use his own as he, and not as others thought fit. I have heard (but do not affirm it) That no Action lies against him that is so wicked as to steal the winding-sheet from off a dead body after 'tis buried; and have heard the reason to be, because none were supposed to be so void of humanity; and, that such a Law would vilifie that Nation that would but suppose so vile a man to be born in it: I speak this because I would not suppose any man to do what this Covenanter did: And whether there were any Law against him I know not, but pity the Parish the less for turning out their legal Minister.

We have now overtaken Dr. Sanderson at Boothby Pannel, where he hop'd to have enjoy'd himself, though in a poor, yet in a quiet and desir'd privacy; but it prov'd otherwise: For all corners of the Nation were fill'd with Covenanters, Confusion, Committee-men and Soldiers, defacing Monuments, breaking painted Glass Windows, and serving each other to their several ends, of Revenge, or Power, or Profit; and these Committee-men and Soldiers were most of them so possest with this Covenant, that they became like those that were infected with that dreadful Plague of Athen; the Plague of which Plague was, that they by it became maliciously restless to get into company, and to joy (so the Historian's saith) when they had infected others, even those

¹ Thucidides.

of their most beloved or nearest Friends or Relations; and so though there might be some of these Covenanters that were beguil'd, and meant well; yet such were the generality of them, and temper of the times, that you may be sure Dr. Senderson, who though quiet and harmless, yet was an eminent dissenter from them, could therefore not live peaceably; nor did he: For the Soldiers would appear, and visibly oppose and disturb him in the Church when he read Prayers, some of them pretending to advise him how God was to be serv'd most acceptably; which he not approving, but continuing to observe order and decent behaviour in reading the Church Service, they fore'd his Book from him, and tore it, expecting extemporary Prayers.

At this time he was advis'd by a Parliament-man of power and note, that lov'd and valued him much, not to be strict in reading all the Common Prayer, but make some little variation, especially if the Soldiers came to watch him; for if he did, it might not be in the power of him and his other Friends to secure him from taking the Covenant, or Sequestration: for which Reasons he did vary somewhat from the strict Rules of the Rubrick. I will set down the very words of Confession which he us'd, as I have it under his own hand; and tell the Reader that all his other variations were as little, and very much like to this.

His Confession.

O Almighty God and merciful Father, we thy unworthy Servants do with shame and sorrow confess, that we have all our life long gone astray out of thy ways like lost sheep; and that by following too much the vain devices and desires of our own hearts, we have grievously offended against thy holy Laws both in thought, word and deed; we have many times left undone those good duties, which we might and ought to have done; and we have many times done those evils, when we might have avoided them, which we ought not to have done. We confess, O Lord, that there is no health at all, nor help in any Creature to relieve us; but all our hope is in thy mercy; whose justice we have by our sins so far provoked: Have mercy therefore upon us, O Lord, have mercy upon suiterable offenders: spare us good God, who confess our faults, that we perish not; but according to thy gracious promites declared unto man.

kind in Christ Jesus our Lord, restore us upon our true Repentance into thy grace and favour. And grant, O most meriful Father, for his sake, that we henceforth study to serve and please thee by leading a godly, righteous, and a sober Life, to the glory of thy holy Name, and the eternal comfort of our own Souls, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

In these and other provocations of tearing his Service-Book, a Neighbour came on a Sunday, after the Evening Service was ended, to visit and condole with him for the Affront offered by the Soldiers. To whom he spake with a composed patience, and said; God babt restored me to my desir'd privacy, with my Wife and Children, where I bop'd to have met with quietness; and it proves not so; but I will labour to be pleas' d, because God, on whom I depend, sees 'tis not fit for me to be quiet. I praise him, that he bath by his grace prevented me from making shipurack of a good Conscience to maintain me in a place' of great reputation and profit: and though my condition be such, that I need the last; yet I submit: for God did not send me into this world to do my oum, but suffer his will, and I will bely it. Thus by a sublime depending on his wise, and powerful, and pitiful Greator, he did chearfully submit to what God had appointed; still justifying the truth of that Doctrine and the reason of that Discipline which he had preach'd.

About this time that excellent Book of the King's Meditations in his Solitude was printed, and made publick: and Dr. Sanderson was such as lover of the Author, and so desirous that not this Nation only, but the whole world should see the character of him in that Book, and something of the cause for which he and many others then suffer'd, that he design'd to turn it into Latin: but when he had done half of it most excellently, his friend Dr. Earle prevented him, by appearing to have done it, and printed the whole very well before him.

About this time his dear and most intimate Friend, the learned Dr. Hammond, came to enjoy a quiet conversation and rest with him for some days at Bootbby Pannel, and did so. And having formerly perswaded him to trust his excellent memory, and not read, but try to

¹ Doctor of the Chair,

speak a Sermon as he had writ it: Dr. Sanderson became so compliant as to promise he would. And to that end they two went early the Sunday following to a Neighbour Minister, and requested to exchange a Sermon; and they did so. And at Dr. Sanderson's going into the Pulpit, he gave his Sermon (which was a very short one) into the hand of Dr. Hammond, intending to preach it as 'twas writ: but before he had preach'd a third part, Dr. Hammond (looking on his Sermon as written) observed him to be out, and so lost as to the Matter especially the Method, that he also became afraid for him; for 'twas discernable to many of that plain Auditory: But when he had ended this short Sermon, as they two walk'd homeward, Dr. Sanderson said with much earnestness, Good Doctor give me my Sermon, and know, that neither you, nor any man living, shall ever perswade me to preach again without my Books. To which the reply was, Good Doctor be not angry; for if I ever perswade you to preach again without-Book, I will give you leave to burn all the Books that I am Master of.

Part of the occasion of Dr. Hammond's visit was at this time, to discourse Dr. Sanderson about some Opinions, in which, if they did not then, they had doubtless differed formerly; 'twas about those knotty Points, which are by the Learned call'd the Quinquarticular Controversie; of which I shall proceed, not to give any Judgment (I pretend not to that) but some short Historical Account which shall follow.

There had been, since the unhappy Covenant was brought, and so generally taken in England, a liberty given or taken by many Preachers (those of London especially) to preach and be too positive in the Points of Universal Redemption, Predestination, and those other depending upon these. Some of which preach'd, That all men were, before they came into this world, so predestinated to salvation or damnation, that 'twas not in their power to in so, as to lose the first, nor by their most diligent endeavour to avoid the latter. Others, That 'twas not so; because then God could not be said to grieve for the death of a sinner, when he himself had made him so by an inveitable decree, before he had so much as a being in this world; affirming therefore, that man had some power left him to do the will of God, because he was advised to work out his salvation with fear and trembling; maintaining, that 'this most certain, every man can do what he can to be saved; and as certain that 'the most certain, every man can do what he can to be saved; and as certain that

he that does what he can to be saved, shall never be damned: And yet many that affirmed this to be a truth, would yet confess, That that grace, which is but a perswasive offer, and left to us to receive or refuse; is not that grace which shall bring men to Heaven. Which truths, or untruths, or both, be they which they will, did upon these or the like occasions come to be scarched into, and charitably debated betwixt Dr. Sanderson, Dr. Hammond, and Dr. Pierce (the now Reverend Dean of Salisbury) of which I shall proceed to give some account, but briefly.

In the year 1648, the 52 London Ministers (then a Fraternity of Sion Colledge in that City) had in a printed Declaration aspers'd Dr. Hammond most heinously, for that he had in his Practical Catechism affirm'd. That our Saviour died for the sins of all mankind. To justifie which truth, he presently makes a charitable Reply (as 'tis now printed in his works.) After which there were many Letters past betwixt the said Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sanderson, and Dr. Pierce, concerning God's grace and decrees. Dr. Sanderson was with much unwillingness drawn into this Debate; for he declared it would prove uneasie to him, who in his judgment of God's decrees differ'd with Dr. Hammond (whom he reverenced and loved dearly) and would not therefore ingage himself in a Controversie, of which he could never hope to see an end: nevertheless they did all enter into a charitable disquisition of these said Points in several Letters, to the full satisfaction of the Learned; those betwixt Dr. Sanderson and Dr. Hammond being now printed in his Works; and for what past betwixt him and the learned Dr. Pierce. I refer my Reader to a Letter sent to me and annext to the end of this Relation.

I think the Judgment of Dr. Sanderson was by these Debates altered from what it was at his entrance into them; for in the year 1632, when his excellent Sermons were first printed in 4°. the Reader may on the Margent find some accusation of Arminius for false Doctrine; and find, that upon a review and reprinting those Sermons in folio in the year 1657, that accusation of Arminius is omitted. And the change of his judgment seems more fully to appear in his said Letter to Dr. Pierce. And let me now tell the Reader, which may seem to be perplex'd with these several affirmations of God's decrees before men-

tioned, that Dr. Hammond, in a Postscript to the last Letter of his to Dr. Sanderson, says, God can reconcile his own contradictions, and therefore advises all men, as the Apostle does, to study mortification, and be wise to sobriety. And let me add further, that if these 52 Ministers of Sion Colledge were the occasion of the Debates in these Letters: they have I think, been the occasion of giving an end to the Quinquarticular Controversie; for none have since undertaken to say more; but seem to be so wise, as to be content to be ignorant of the rest, till they come to that place, where the secrets of all hearts shall be laid open. And let me here tell the Reader also; that if the rest of mankind would, as Dr. Sanderson, not conceal their alteration of Judgment, but confess it to the honour of God and themselves; then, our Nation would become freer from pertinacious Disputes, and fuller of Recantations. I am not willing to lead my Reader to Dr. Hammond and Dr. Sanderson where we left them together at Boothby Pannel, till I have look'd back to the long Parliament, the Society of Covenanters in Sion Colledge, and those others scattered up and down in London, and given some account of their proceedings and usage of the late learned Dr. Laud, then Archbishop of Canterbury, whose life seem'd to be sacrific'd, to appease the popular fury of that present time. And though I will forbear to mention the injustice of his death, and the barbarous usage of him, both at his Tryal and before it; yet my desire is, that what follows may be noted, because it does now, or may hereafter concern us; that is, to note, That in his last sad Sermon on the Scaffold at his death, he did (as our blessed Saviour advis'd his Disciples,) Pray for those that persecuted and dispitefully used bim. And not only pardon'd those Enemies; but, passionately begg'd of Almighty God

that he would also pardon them; and besought all the present beholders of this sad sight, that they would pardon and pray for him: But tho' he did all this, yet, he seem'd to accuse the Magistrates of the City, for not suppressing a sort of people whose malicious and furious Zeal, had so far transported them, and violated all modesty; that, tho' they could not know, whether he were justly or unjustly condemned;

declar'd how unjustly he thought himself to be condemned, and accus'd for endeavouring to bring in Popery (for that was one of the Accusations for which he died) he declared with sadness, That the several Sects and Divisions then in England (which he had laboured to prevent) were now like to bring the Pope a far greater harvest, than he could ever have expected without them. And said, these Sects and Divisions introduce prophaneness under the cloak of an imaginary Religion; and, that we have lost the substance of Religion by changing it into Opinion; and, that by these means the Church of England, which all the Jesuits machinations could not ruine, was fall'n into apparent danger by those (Covenanters) which were his Accusers. To this purpose he spoke at his death: for which, & more to the same purpose, the Reader may view his last sad Sermon on the Scaffold. And 'tis here mentioned, because his dear Friend Dr. Sanderson seems to demonstrate the same fear of Popery in his two large and remarkable Prefaces before his two Volumes of Sermons; and seems also with much sorrow to say the same again in his last Will, made when he was and apprehended himself to be very near his death. And these Covenanters ought to take notice of it; and to remember, that by the late wicked War began by them, Dr. Sanderson was ejected out of the Professors Chair in Oxford; and that if he had continued in it (for he lived 14 years after) both the Learned of this and other Nations, had been made happy by many remarkable Cases of Conscience, so rationally stated, and so briefly, so clearly, and so convincingly determin'd, that Posterity might have joyed and boasted, that Dr. Sanderson was born in this Nation, for the ease and benefit of all the Learned that shall be born after him: But, this benefit is so like time past, that they are both irrecoverably lost.

I should now return to Boothby Pannel, where we left Dr. Hammond and Dr. Sanderson together, but neither can now be found there: For, the first was in his Journey to London, and the second seiz'd upon the day after his Friends departure, and carried Prisoner to Lincoln, then a Garison of the Parliaments. For the pretended reason of which Commitment, I shall give this following account.

There was one Mr. Clarke, (the Minister of Alington, a Town not many miles from Boothby Pannel,) who was an active man for the

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Parliament and Covenant; and one that, when Belvoire Castle (then a Garison for the Parliament) was taken by a Party of the King's Soldiers, was taken in it, & made a Prisoner of War in Newark, (then a Garison of the Kings); a man so active and useful for his Party, that they became so much concern'd for his inlargement, that the Committee of Limeohr sent a Troop of Horse to seize and bring Dr. Sander-son a Prisoner to that Garison; and they did so. And there he had the happiness to meet with many, that knew him so well as to reverence and treat him kindly; but told him, He must continue their Prisoner, till be should purchsse bis own inlargement by procuring an Exchange for Mr. Clarke then Prisoner in the King's Garison of Newark. There were many Reasons given by the Doctor of the Injustice of his Imprisonment, and the Inequality of the Exchange, but all were uneffectual: For done it must be, or he continue a Prisoner. And in time done it was upon the following Conditions.

First, that Dr. Sanderson and Mr. Clarke being Exchanged, should live undisturb'd at their own Parishes; and if either were injur'd by the Soldiers of the contrary Party, the other having notice of it, should procure him a Redress, by having satisfaction made for his loss, or for any other injury; or if not, he to be us'd in the same kind by the other Party. Nevertheless, Dr. Sanderson could neither live safe, nor quietly, being several times plundered, and once wounded in three places; but he, apprehending the remedy might turn to a more intolerable burthen by impatience or complaining, forbore both; and possess'd his Soul in a contented quietness, without the least repining. But though he could not enjoy the safety he expected by this Exchange, yet by his Providence that can bring good out of evil, it turn'd so much to his advantage, that whereas his Living had been Sequestred from the Year 1644, and continued to be so till this time of his Imprisonment. he, by the Articles of War in this Exchange for Mr. Clarke, procur'd his Sequestration to be recall'd, and by that means injoy'd a poor but more contented subsistence for himself, his Wife, and Children, till the happy Restauration of our King and Church.

In this time of his poor, but contented privacy of life, his Casuistical Learning, Peaceful Moderation and Sincerity, became so remarkable,

that there were many that apply'd themselves to him for Resolution in perplext Cases of Conscience; some known to him, and many not; some requiring satisfaction by Conference, others by Letters; so many, that his life became almost as restless as their minds; yet . . . as St. Paul accounted himself a debter to all men, so he, for he deny'd none. And if it be a truth which holy Mr. Herbert says, That all worldly joys seem less, when compared with shewing mercy or doing kindnesses; then doubtless this Barnabas, this son of Consolation, Dr. Sanderson might have boasted for relieving so many restless and wounded Consciences: which, as Solomon says, are a burden that none can bear, though their Fortitude may sustain their other Calamities: and if words cannot express the joy of a Conscience relieved from such restless Agonies; then Dr. Sanderson might rejoyce, that so many were by him so clearly and conscientiously satisfied; and would often praise God for that ability, and as often for the occasion, and that God had inclin'd his heart to do it, to the meanest of any of those poor, but precious Souls, for which his Saviour vouchsafed to be crucified.

Some of those very many Cases that were resolved by Letters, have been preserv'd and printed for the benefit of Posterity; as namely,

- I. Of the Sabbath.
- 2. Marrying with a Recusant.
- 3. Of unlawful Love.
- 4. Of a Military life.
- 5. Of Scandal.
- 6. Of a Bond taken in the King's Name.
- 7. Of the Ingagement.
- 8. Of a rash Vow.

But many more remain in private hands, of which one is of Symony; and I wish the World might see it, that it might undeceive so many mistaken Patrons, who think they have discharg'd that great and dangerous trust, both to God and Man, if they take no money for a Living, though it may be parted with for other ends less justifiable, which I forbear to name.

And in this time of his retirement, when the common people were

amaz'd & grown restless and giddy by the many falshoods, and misapplications of Truths frequently vented in Sermons, when they wrested the Scripture by challenging God to be of their party, and call'd upon him in their Prayers to patronize their Sacriledg & zealous Frenzies in this time, he did so compassionate the generality of this misled Nation, that though the Times threatned such an undertaking with danger; yet, he then hazarded his safety by writing the large and bold Preface now extant before his last 20 Sermons, (first Printed in the dangerous Year 1655.) In which there was such strength of Reason, with so powerful and clear convincing Applications made to the Nonconformists, as being read by one of those dissenting Brethren, who was possess'd of a good sequester'd Living, and with it such a spirit of Covetousness and Contradiction, as being neither able to defend his error, nor yield to truth manifested (his Conscience having slept long and quietly in that Living) was yet at the reading of it so awakened, (for there is a Divine Power in reason) that after a conflict with the reason he had met, and the dammage he was to sustain if he consented to it (and being still unwilling to be so convinc'd, as to lose by being over-reason'd) he went in haste to the Bookseller of whom 'twas bought, threatned him, and told him in anger, he had sold a Book in which there was false Divinity; and that the Preface had upbraided the Parliament, and many godly Ministers of that party for unjust dealing. . . . To which his Reply was, ('twas Tim. Garthwaite) That 'twas not his Trade to judge of true or false Divinity, but to print and sell Books; and yet if he, or any Friend of his would write an Answer to it, and own it by setting his Name to it, he would print the Answer, and promote the selling of it.

About the time of his Printing this excellent Preface, I met him accidentally in London in sad-coloured Clothes, and God knows, far from being costly: the place of our meeting was near to Little Britain, where he had been to buy a Book, when he then had in his hand; we had no inclination to part presently; and therefore turn'd to stand in a corner under a Penthouse (for it began to rain) and immediately the Wind rose, and the rain increased so much, that both became so inconvenient, as to force us into a cleanly house, where we had Bread.

Cheese, Ale, & a Fire for our ready money. This rain and wind were so obliging to me, as to force our stay there for at least an hour, to my great content and advantage; for in that time he made to me many useful observations of the present Times with much clearness and conscientious freedom. I shall relate a part of them, in hope they may also turn to the advantage of my Reader. . . . He seem'd to lament, that the Parliament had taken upon them to abolish our Liturgy, to the grief and scandal of so many Devout and Learned Men, and the disgrace of those many Martyrs, who had seal'd the truth and necessary use of it with their blood: and that no Minister was now thought godly that did not decry it; and, at least, pretend to make better Prayers ex tempore: and that they, and only they that could do so, prayed by the Spirit, and were godly; though in their Sermons they disputed, and evidently contradicted each other in their Prayers. And as he did dislike this, so he did most highly commend the Common. Prayer of the Church, saying, The Holy Ghost seem'd to assist the Composers: and, that the effect of a Constant use of it, would be, to melt & form the Soul, into boly thoughts and desires: and, beget babits of Devotion. . . . This he said: and that the Collects were the most passionate, proper and most elegant comprehensive expressions that any Language ever afforded; and that there was in them such Piety, and that, so interwoven with Instructions, that they taught us to know the Power, the Wisdom, the Majesty, and Mercy of God, and much of our Duty both to Him and our Neighbour; and that a Congregation behaving themselves reverently, & putting up to God these joynt and known desires for pardon of sins, and praises for mercies receiv'd, could not but be more pleasing to God, than those raw unpremeditated expressions, which many understood not, and to which many of the hearers could not say Amen.

And he then commended to me the frequent use of the Psalter or Psalms of David; speaking to this purpose, That they were the Treasury of Obristian Comfort, fitted for all persons and all necessities; able to vaise the Soul from dejection by the frequent mention of God's Mercies to reportant Simners; able to stir up boly desires; to increase joy; to moderate sorrow; to nourish bope, and teach us patience, by waiting God's leisure for what we beg; able to beget a trust in the Mercy, Power, & Providence of our Creator; & to cause a resignation of our selves to his Will, & then (and not till then) to

believe our selves bappy. This he said the Liturgy and Psalms taught us; and that by the frequent use of the last they would not only prove to be our Souls comfort, but would become so habitual, as to transform them into the image of his Soul that composed them. . . . After this manner he express'd himself and sorrow, concerning the Liturgy & Psalms; & seem'd to lament that this, which was the Devotion of the more Primitive Times, should in common Pulpits be turn'd into needless debates about Free-will, Election, and Reprobation, of which, and many like Questions, we may be safely ignorant, because Almighty God intends not to lead us to Heaven by hard Questions, but by meekness and charity, and a frequent practice of Devotion.

And he seem'd to lament very much, that by the means of irregular and indiscreet Preaching, the generality of the Nation were possess'd with such dangerous mistakes, as to think. They might be religious first, and then just and merciful: that they might sell their Consciences, and yet have something left that was worth keeping; that they might be sure they were elected, though their Lives were visibly scandalous; that to be cunning was to be wise; that to be rich was to be happy, tho' 'tis evidently false; that to speak evil of Government, and to be busie in things they understood not, was no sin. These, and the like mistakes, he lamented much, and besought God to remove them, and restore us to that humility, sincerity, and single-heartedness, with which this Nation was blest, before the unhappy Covenant was brought amongst us, and every man preach'd and pray'd what seem'd best in his own eyes. And he then said to me, That the way to restore this Nation to a more meek and Christian temper, was to have the Body of Divinity (or so much of it as was needful to be known to the Common people) to be put into 52 Homilies or Sermons. of such a length as not to exceed a third or fourth part of an hours reading; and these needful Points to be made so clear and plain, that those of a mean capacity might know what was necessary to be believed, and what God requires to be done; and then some plain applications of trial and conviction: and these to be read every Sunday of the Year, as infallibly as the blood circulates the body at a set time; and then as certainly began again, and continued the Year following.

And, he explain'd the reason of this his desire, by saying to me, . . .

All Grammer-Scholers, that are often shifted, from one to another School, learn neither so much, nor their little so truly, as those that are constant to one good Masters because, by the several Rules of teaching in those several Schools, they learn less, & become more and more Confus d', and at last, so puzeled and perplext, that their learning proves useless both to themselves and others. And so do the immethodical, useless, needless Notions that are delivered in many Sermons, make the hearers: but a clear and constant rule, of teaching us, what we are to know, and do, and what not, and that taught us by an approv'd authority, might probably bring the Nation to a more Conscientious Practice of what we know, and ought to do. Thus did this Prudent Man explain the reason of this his desire: and oh! that he had undertaken what he advis' d; for then in all probability it wou'd have prov'd so useful, that the present Age wou'd have been blest by it: and Posterity wou'd have blessed him for it.

And at this happy time of my injoying his company and this discourse, he express'd a sorrow by saying to me, O that I had gone Chaplain to that Excellently Accomplish'd Gentleman, your Friend, Sir Henry Wootton! which was once intended, when he first went Ambassador to the State of Venices for by that Imployment I had been fore'd into a necessity of conversing, not with him only, but with several Men of several Nations; and might thereby have kept my self from my unmanly hashfulness, which has prov'd very troublesome, and not less inconvenient to me; and which I now fear is become so babitual as never to leave me: and besides, by that means I might also have known, or at least have had the satisfaction of seeing one of the late Miracles of Mankind, for general Learning, Prudence, and Modesty, Sir Henry Wootton's dear Friend, Padre Paulo, who, the Author of his Life says, was born with a bashfulness as invincible, as I have found my own to be: A man whose fame must never die, till Vertue and Learning shall become so weeless as not to be regarded.

This was a part of the benefit I then had by that hours conversation: and I gladly remember and mention it, as an Argument of my happiness, and his great humility and condescention. I had also a like advantage by another happy Conference with him, which I am destrous to impart in this place to the Reader. He lamented much, that in those times of Confusion many Parishes, where the mainten-

ance was not great, there was no Minister to officiate; and that many of the best Sequestred Livings were possess'd with such rigid Covenanters as denied the Sacrament to their Parishioners, unless upon such conditions, and in such a manner as they could not with a good Conscience take it: This he mentioned with much sorrow, saving, The blessed Sacrament did, even by way of preparation for it, give occasion to all conscientious Receivers to examine the performance of their Vows, since they received that last seal for the vardon of their sins vast; and also to examine and research their hearts, and make venitent reflexions on their failings; and that done, to bewail them seriously, and then make new Vows or Resolutions to obey all God's Commands better, and bee his grace to verform them. And that this being faithfully done, the Sacrament repairs the decays of grace, belps us to conquer infirmities, gives us grace to beg God's grace, and then gives us what we beg; makes us still bunger and thirst after his righteousness, which we then receive, and being assisted with our own endeavours, will still so dwell in us, as to become our Sanctification in this life, and our comfort on our last Sick-beds. The want of this blessed benefit he lamented much, and pitied their condition that desired, but could not obtain it.

I hope I shall not disoblige my Reader, if I here inlarge into a further Character of his person and temper. As first, That he was moderately tall; his behaviour had in it much of a plain comliness, and very little (yet enough) of ceremony or courtship; his looks and motion manifested an indearing affability and mildness, and yet he had with these a calm, and so matchless a fortitude, as secur'd him from complying with any of those many Parliament injunctions, that interfer'd with a doubtful Conscience. His Learning was methodical and exact; his Wisdome useful; his Integrity visible; and his whole Life so unspotted, so like the Primitive Christians, that all ought to be preserved as Copies for Posterity to write after; the Clergy especially; who with impure hands ought not to offer Sacrifice to that God, whose pute Eyes abhort iniquity; and, especially in them.

There was in his Sermons no improper Rhetotick, nor such perplex'd divisions, as may be said to be like too much light, that so dazles the eyes that the sight becomes less perfect: But in them there was no want of useful matter, nor waste of words; and yet such clear

distinctions as dispel'd all confus'd Notions, and made his hearers depart both wiser, and more confirm'd in vertuous Resolutions.

His Memory was so matchless and firm, as 'twas only overcome by his bashfulness: for he alone, or to a Friend, could repeat all the Odes of Horace, all Tully's Offices, and much of Juvenal and Persius without Book; and would say, The repetition of one of the Odes of Horace to bimself, (which he did often) was to bim such Musick, as a Lesson on the Viol was to others, when they play'd it voluntarily to themselves or Friends. And though he was blest with a clearer Judgment than other men, yet he was so distrustful of it, that he did usually over-consider of consequences, and would so delay and reconsider what to determine, that though none ever determin'd better, yet, when the Bell toll'd for him to appear and read his Divinity Lectures in Oxford, and all the Scholars attended to hear him, he had not then, or not till then, resolv'd and writ what he meant to determine; so that that appear'd to be a truth, which his old dear Friend Dr. Sheldon would often say, namely, That his judgment was so much superiour to his fancy, That whatsoever this suggested, that dislik'd and controul'd; still considering and reconsidering, till his time was so wasted, that he forc'd to write, not (probably) what was best, but what he thought last. And yet what he did then read, appear'd to all hearers to be so useful, clear, and satisfactory, as none ever determin'd with greater applause.

These tiring and perplexing thoughts begot in him some aversness to enter into the toyl of considering and determining all Casuistical Points; because during that time, they neither gave rest to his Body or Mind. But though he would not suffer his Mind to be always loden with these knotty Points and Distinctions; yet the study of old Records, Genealogies, and Heraldry, were a recreation, and so pleasing, that he would say they gave a pleasant rest to his mind. Of the last of which I have seen two remarkable Volumes; and the Reader needs neither to doubt their truth or exactness.

And this holy humble Man had so conquer'd all repining and ambitious thoughts, and with them all other unruly passions, that, if the accidents of the day prov'd to his danger or dammage, yet he both began and ended it with an even and undisturbed quietness:

always praising God that he had not withdrawn food and raiment from him and his poor Family; nor suffered him in the times of tryal to violate his Conscience for his safety, or to support himself or them in a more splendid or plentiful condition; and that, he therefore resolv'd with David, That his praise should be always in his mouth.

I have taken a content in giving my Reader this Character of his Person, his Temper, and some of the Accidents of his life past; and more might be added of all: But I will with sorrow look forward to the sad days, in which so many good Men, Clergy-men especially, were sufferers; namely, about the Year 1658, at which time Dr. Sanderson was in a very pitiful condition as to his Estate: And in that time Mr. Robert Boyle (a Gentleman of a very Noble Birth, and more Eminent for his Liberality, Learning, and Vertue,) and of whom I would say much more, but that he still lives) having casually met with, and read his Lectures de Juramento, to his great satisfaction, and being informed of Dr. Sanderson's great innocence and Sincerity, and that he and his Family were brought into a low condition by his not complying with the Parliaments injunctions, sent him by his dear Friend Dr. Barlow (the now Learned Bishop of Lincoln) sol, and with it a request and promise: The request was, "That he would "review the Lectures de Conscientia, which he had read when he was "Doctor of the Chair in Oxford, and print them for the good of "Posterity; (and this Dr. Sanderson did in the Year 1659.) And the "Promise was. That he would pay him that, or if he desir'd it, a "greater sum yearly, during his Life, to inable him to pay an Amanu-"ensis, to ease him from the trouble of writing what he should conceive or dictate. . . . For the more particular account of which, I refer my reader to a Letter writ to me by the said Dr. Barlow, which I have annexed to the end of this Relation.

Towards the beginning of the Year 1660, when the many mixt Sects, and their Creators, and merciless Protectors, had led, or driven each other into a Whirl-pool of Confusion both in Church and States when amazement and fear had seised most of them by foresceing, they must now not only Vomit up the Churches, and the Kings Land, but their accusing consciences did also give them an inward and fearful

Intelligence, that the God of opposition, disobedience, and confusion, which they had so long and so diligently fear'd, was now ready to reward them with such wages as he always pays to Witches for their obeying him. When these wretches (that had said to themselves. We shall see no sorrow,) were come to foresee an end of their cruel reign, by our King's return, and such Sufferers as Dr. Sanderson (and with him many of the oppressed Clergy and others) could foresee the cloud of their afflictions would be dispers'd by it. Then the 29th of May following, the King was by our good God restored to us, and we o our known Laws and Liberties, and then a general joy and peace eem'd to breath through the 3 Nations; the suffering and sequester'd Clergy (who had like the Children of Israel, sat long lamenting their ad Condition, and hang'd their neglected Harps on the Willows that grow by the Rivers of Babylon) were after many thoughtful days, and estless nights, now freed from their Sequestration, restor'd to their Revenues, and to a liberty to adore, praise, and pray to Almighty God publickly in such order as their Consciences and Oaths had formerly bliged them. And the Reader will easily believe that Dr. Sanderson nd his dejected Family rejoye'd to see this happy day, and be of this number. At this time of the conformable Clergies deliverance, from the Presoyterian severities; the Doctor said to a Friend. "I look back on this strange and happy turn of the late times, with amazement and thankfulness; and cannot but think the Presbyterians ought to read their own errors, by considering that by their own rules the Independants have punisht, and supplanted them as they did the Conformable Clergy, who are now (so many as still live) restor'd to their lawful rights; and, as the Prophet David hath taught me, so I say with a thankful heart. Verily, there is a God that Judgeth the earth: And, a reward for the righteous.

It ought to be considered (which I have often heard or read) that in ne Primitive times men of learning, prudence, and vertue were usually ought for, and sollicited to accept of Episcopal Government, and often fusy'd it. For, they conscientiously considered, that the Office of a sishop was not made up of ease and state, but of labour and care: hat they were trusted to be God's Almoners of the Churches

Revenue, and double their care for the Churches good, and the poor: to live strictly themselves, and use all diligence to see that their Family, Officers, and Clergy, became examples of innocence and Piety to others; and that the account of that Stewardship must at the last dreadful day be made to the Searcher of all hearts; and for these reasons they were in the primitive times timorous to undertake it. It may not be said that Dr. Sanderson was accomplish'd with these, and all the other requisites requir'd in a Bishop, so, as to be able to answer them exactly; but it may be affirm'd, as a good preparation, that he had at the Age of 73 years (for he was so old at the King's return) fewer faults to be pardon'd by God or man, than are apparent in others in these days, in which (God knows) we fall so short of that visible sanctity and zeal to God's glory, which was apparent in the days of Primitive Christianity. This is mentioned by way of preparation to what I shall say more of Dr. Sanderson; as namely, That at the Kine's return Dr. Sheldon, the late prudent Arch-Bishop of Canterbury (than whom none knew, valued, or lov'd Dr. Sanderson more or better) was by his Majesty made a chief Trustee to commend to him fit men to supply the then vacant Bishopricks. And Dr. Sheldon knew none fitter than Dr. Sanderson, and therefore humbly desired the King that he would nominate him: and that done; he did as humbly desire Dr. Sanderson that he would For Gods and the Churches sake, take that charge and care upon him. Dr. Sanderson had, if not an unwillingness, certainly no forwardness to undertake it, and would often say. He had not led himself, but his Friend would now lead him into a temptation, which he had daily prayd against; and besought God, if he did undertake it, so to assist him with his grace, that the example of his life, his cares endeavours might promote bis glory, and belp forward the salvation of others.

This I have mentioned as a happy preparation to his Bishoptick, and am next to tell that he was consecrated Bishop of Lincoln at Westminster the 28th of October, 1660.

There was about this time a Christian care taken, that those whose Consciences were (as they said) tender, and could not comply with the Service and Ceremonies of the Church, might have satisfaction given by a friendly debate betwixt a select number of them, and some

like number of those that had been Sufferers for the Church Service and Ceremonies, and now restor'd to liberty; of which last some were then preferr'd to power and dignity in the Church. And of these Bishop Sanderson was one, and then chose to be a Moderator in that debate, and he perform'd his trust with much mildness, patience and reason; but all prov'd uneffectual: For there be some prepossessions like jealousies, which (though causeless, yet) cannot be remov'd by reasons as apparent as demonstration can make any truth. The place appointed for this debate was the Savov in the Strand: and the Points debated were, I think, many; (and I think many of them needless) some affirmed to be truth and reason, some denied to be either; and these debates being at first in words, proved to be so loose and perplex'd, as satisfied neither party. For sometime that which had been affirmed was immediately forgot, or mistaken, or deny'd, and so no satisfaction given to either party. And that the debate might become more satisfactory and useful, it was therefore resolv'd that the day following the desires and reasons of the Nonconformists should be given in writing, and they in writing receive Answers from the conforming party. And though I neither now can, nor need to mention all the Points debated, nor the names of the dissenting Brethren: yet I am sure Mr. Richard Baxter was one, and am sure also one of the Points debated, was Concerning a Command of lawful Superiours, what was sufficient towards its being a lawful Command?... this following Proposition was brought by the conforming Party.

That Command which commands an act in it self lawful, and no other act or circumstance unlawful, is not sinful.

Mr. Baxter denied it for two Reasons, which he gave in with his own hand in writing thus: One was, Because that may be a sin per accidens, which is not so in it self; and may be unlawfully commanded, though that accident be not in the command. Another was, That it may be commanded under an unjust penalty.

Again, this proposition being brought by the Conformists, That Command which commanded an act in it self lawful, and no other act whereby any unjust penalty is injoyned, nor any circumstance whence per accidens any sin is consequent which the Commander ought to provide against, is not sinful.

Mr. Baxter denied it for this reason then given in with his own hand in writing, thus: Because the first Act commanded may be per accidens unlauful, and be commanded by an unjust penalty, though no other act or circumstance commanded be such.

Again, this Proposition being brought by the Conformists, That Command which commandeth an act in it self lawful, and no other Act whereby any unjust penalty is injoyned, nor any circumstance whence directly or per accidents any sin is consequent, which the Commander ought to provide against; bath in it all things requisite to the lawfulness of a Command, and particularly cannot be guilty of commanding an act per accidents unlawful, nor of commanding an act under an unjust penalty.

Mr. Baxter denyed it upon the same Reasons.

Peter Gunning. John Pearson.

These were then two of the Disputants, still live, and will attest this; one being now Lord Bishop of Ely, and the other of Chester. And the last of them told me very lately, that one of the Dissenters (which I could, but forbeat to name) appear'd to Dr. Sanderson to be so bold, so troublesom, and so illogical in the dispute, as fore'd patient Dr. Sanderson (who was then Bishop of Lincoln, and a Moderator with other Bishops) to say with an unusual earnestness, That he had never met with a man of more pertinacious confidence, and less abilities in all bis conversation.

But, though this debate at the Savoy was ended without any great satisfaction to either party, yet both parties knew the desires, and understood the abilities of the other much better than before it: and the late distressed Clergy, that were now restor'd to their former rights and power were so charitable, as at their next meeting in Convocation to contrive to give the dissenting party satisfaction by alteration, explanation, and addition to some part both of the Rubrick and Common Proyer; as also by adding some new necessary Collects, with a particular Collect of Thanksgiving. How many of these new Collects were worded by Dr. Sanderson, I cannot say; but am sure the whole Convocation valued him so much, that he never undertook to speak

to any Point in question, but he was heard with great willingness and attention; and when any Point in question was determin'd, the Convocation did usually desire him to word their intentions, and as usually approve & thank him.

At this Convocation the Common Prayer was made more compleat by adding 3 new necessary Offices; which were. A form of Humiliation for the murther of King Charles the Martyr, a thanksoiving for the Restoration of his Son our King; and for the baptizing of persons of riper age. I cannot say Dr. Sanderson did form or word them all, but doubtless more than any single man of the Convocation; and he did also, by desire of the Convocation, alter & add to the forms of Prayers to be used at Sea (now taken into the Service-Book.) And it may be noted. That William, the now most Reverend Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, was in these imployments diligently useful; especially in helping to rectifie the Kalendar and Rubrick. And lastly, it may be noted, That for the satisfying all the dissenting Brethren and others, the Convocations Reasons for the alterations and additions to the Liturgy, were by them desir'd to be drawn up by Dr. Sanderson; which being done by him. and approv'd by them, was appointed to be Printed before the Liturgy, and may be known by this Title, - The Preface: and begins thus -It bath been the Wisdom of the Church.

I shall now follow Dr. Sanderson to his Bishoprick, and declare a part of his behaviour in that busie and weighty imployment. And first, That it was with such condescention and obligingness to the meanest of his Clergy, as to know and be known to most of them. And indeed he practis'd the like to all men of what degree soever, especially to his old Neighbours or Parishioners of Bostbby Pannel; for there was all joy at his Table when they came to visit him: then they pray'd for him, and he for them with an unfeigned affection.

I think it will not be deny'd but that the care and toyl required of a Bishop, may justly challenge the tiches & revenue with which their Predecessors had lawfully endow'd them; and yet he sought not that so much, as doing good with it both to the present Age and Posterity; and he made this appear by what follows.

The Bishops chief House at Buckden, in the County of Huntington,

the usual Residence of his Predecessors (for it stands about the midst of his Diocese) having been at his Consecration a great part of it demolish'd, and what was left standing under a visible decay, was by him undertaken to be erected and repair'd; and it was perform'd with great speed, care, and charge. And to this may be added. That the King having by an Injunction commended to the care of the Bishops, Deans, and Prebends of all Cathedral Churches, the repair of them, their Houses, and an augmentation of the revenue of small Vicarages; He, when he was repairing Bugden, did also augment the last, as fast as Fines were paid for renewing Leases: so fast, that a Friend taking notice of his bounty, was so bold as to advise him to remember, he was under his first fruits, and that he was old, and had a wife and children that were yet but meanly provided for, especially if his dignity were considered. To whom he made a mild and thankful answer, saving. It would not become a Christian Bishop to suffer those houses built by his Predecessors to be ruin'd for want of repair; and less justifiable to suffer any of those poor Vicars that were call'd to so high a calling as to sacrifice at God's Altar, to eat the bread of sorrow constantly, when he had a power by a small augmentation to turn it into the bread of chearfulness: and wish'd, that as this was, so it were also in his Power to make all Mankind happy, for he desired nothing more. And for his wife and children, he hop'd to leave them a competence; and in the hands of a God, that would provide for all that kept innocence, and trusted in his providence and protection, which he had always found enough to make and keep bim bappy.

There was in his Diocese a Minister of almost his Age, that had been of Lintoln Colledge when he left it, who visited him often, and always welcome, because he was a man of innocence and open-heartedness: This Minister asked the Bishop what Books he studied most, when he laid the foundation of his great and clear Learning? To which his Answer was, That he declin'd reading many books; but what he did read, were well chosen, and read so often that he became very familiar with them; and told him they were chiefly three, Aristotle's Rhetorick, Aquinas's Secunda Secundae, and Tully, but chiefly his Offices, which he had not read over less than 20 times; and could at this Agerepeat without Book. And told him also, the learned Civilian

Doctor Zonch (who died lately) had writ Elementa jurisprudentiaz, which was a Book that he thought, he could also say without Book; and that no wise man could read it too often, or love, or commend it too much; and told him the study of these had been his toyl: But for himself, he always had a natural love to Centalogies and Heraldy; and that when his thoughts were harassed with any perplext Studies, he left off, and turned to them as a recreation; and that his very recreation had made him so perfect in them, that he could in a very short time give an account of the Descent, Arms, & Antiquity of any Family of the Nobility or Gentry of this Nation.

Before I give an account of his last sickness, I desire to tell the Reader that he was of a healthful constitution, chearful and mild, of an even temper, very moderate in his diet, and had had little sickness, till some few years before his death; but was then every Winter punish'd with a Diarrhea, which left him not till warm weather return'd and remov'd it: And this distemper did, as he grew elder, seize him oftner, and continue longer with him. But though it weakned him, yet it made him rather indispos'd than sick, and did no way disable him from studying, (indeed too much.) In this decay of his strength, but not of his memory or reason (for this distemper works not upon the understanding) he made his last Will, of which I shall give some account for confirmation of what hath been said, and what I think convenient to be known, before I declare his death and burial.

He did in his last will give an account of his Faith and Perswasion in point of Religion and Church-Government, in these very words:

I Robert Sanderson Dr. of Divinity, an unworthy Minister of Jesus Christ, and by the providence of God Bishop of Lincoln, being by the long continuance of an babitual distemper brought to a great bodily weakness and faitniness of spirits, but (by the great mercy of God) without any bodily pain otherwise, or decay of understanding, do make this my Will and Testament (written all with my own hand) revoking all former Wills by me heretofore made, if any such shall be found. First, I commend my Soul into the bands of Almighty God, as of a faithful Creator, which I humbly beseech him mercifully to accept, looking upon it, not as it is in it self (infinitely polluted).

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with sin) but as it is redeemed and purged with the precious blood of his only beloved Son, and my most sweet Saviour Jesus Christ, in confidence of whose merits and mediation alone it is, that I cast my self upon the mercy of God for the pardon of my sins, and the hopes of eternal life. And here I do profess, that as I have lived, so I desire, and (by the grace of God) resolve to dve in the Communion of the Catholick Church of Christ, and a true Son of the Church of England: which, as it stands by Law established, to be both in Doctrine and Worship agreeable to the Word of God, and in the most, and most material Points of both, conformable to the faith and practice of the godly Churches of Christ in the primitive and purer times, I do firmly believe: led so to do, not so much from the force of custom and education (to which the createst part of mankind owe their particular different perswasions in point of Religion) as upon the clear evidence of truth and reason, after a serious and unpartial examination of the grounds, as well of Popery as Puritanism, according to that measure of understanding, and those opportunities which God hath afforded me: and berein I am abundantly satisfied, that the Schism which the Papists on the one hand, and the Superstition which the Puritan on the other hand, lay to our charge, are very justly chargeable upon themselves respectively. Wherefore I humbly beseech Almighty God, the Father of Mercies, to preserve the Church by his power and providence, in peace, truth, and godliness, evermore to the worlds end: which doubtless be will do, if the wickedness and security of a sinful people (and particularly those sins that are so rife, and seem daily to increase among us, of Unthankfulness, Riot, and Sacriledge) do not tempt his patience to the contrary. And I also farther humbly beseech him, that it would please him to give unto our gracious Sovereign, the Reverend Bishops, and the Parliament, timely to consider the great danger that visibly threatens this Church in point of Religion by the late great increase of Popery, and in point of Revenue by sacrilegious enclosures; and to provide such wholesome and effectual remedies as may prevent the same before it be too late.

And for a further manifestation of his humble thoughts and desires, they may appear to the Reader, by another part of his Will which follows.

As for my corruptible Body, I bequeath it to the Earth whence it was taken, to be decently buried in the Parish Church of Bugden, towards the upper end of the Chancel, upon the second, or (at the farthest) the third day after my

decease; and that with as little Noise, Pomp, and Charge as may be, without the invitation of any person how near soever related unto me, other than the Inhabitants of Bugden; without the unnecessary expence of Escocheons, Gloves, Ribons, &c. and without any Blacks to be bung any where in or about the House or Church, other than a Pulpit Cloth, a Hearse Cloth, and a Mourning Gown for the Preacher; whereof the former (after my Body shall be interred) to be given to the Preacher of the Funeral Sermon, and the latter to the Curat of the Parish for the time being. And my will further is, That the Funeral Sermon be preached by my own Houshold Chaplain, containing some wholesome discourse concerning Mortality, the Resurrection of the Dead, and the last Judgment; and that he shall have for his pains 31. upon condition, that be speak nothing at all concerning my person, either good or ill, other than I my self shall direct; only signfying to the Auditory that it was my express Will to have it so. And it is my Will, that no costly Monument be erected for my memory, but only a fair flat Marble stone to be laid over me, with this Inscription in legible Roman characters, ... Depositum Roberti Sanderson nuper Lincolniensis Episcopi, qui obiit Anno Domini MDCLXII. & ætatis suæ septuagesimo sexto, Hic requiescit in spe beatæ resurrectionis. This manner of burial, although I cannot but foresee it will prove unsatisfactory to sundry my nearest Friends and Relations, and be apt to be censured by others, as an evidence of my too much parsimony and narrowness of mind, as being altogether unusual, and not according to the mode of these times; yet it is agreeable to the sence of my heart, and I do very much desire my Will may be carefully observed herein, hoping it may become exemplary to some or other: at least howsoever testifying at my death (what I have so often and earnestly professed in my life time) my utter dislike of the flatteries commonly used in Funeral Sermons, and of the vast Expences otherwise laid out in Funeral Solemnities and Entertainments, with very little benefit to any, which (if bestowed in pious and charitable works) might redound to the publick or private benefit of many persons. This is a part of his Will.

I am next to tell, that he died the 29th of January, 1662, and that his Body was buried in Bugden the third day after his death; and for the manner, that 'twas as far from ostentation as he desir'd it; and all the test of his Will was as punctually performed. And when I have (to his just praise) told this truth, T bat he died far from being rich, I shall

return back to visit, and give a further account of him on his last Sick-bed.

His last Will (of which I have mentioned a part) was made about three weeks before his death, about which time finding his strength to decay by reason of his constant infirmity, and a consumptive cough added to it, he retir'd to his Chamber, expressing a desire to enjoy his last thoughts to himself in private, without disturbance or care. especially, of what might concern this world.-Thus as his natural Life decayed, his Spiritual Life seem'd to be more strong; and, his faith more confirm'd; still labouring to attain that holiness and purity, without which none shall see God .- And that not any of his Clergy (which, are more numerous than any other Bishops of this nation) might suffer by his retirement, he did by Commission impower his Chaplain, Mr. Pullin, with Episcopal Power to give Institutions to all Livings or Church-Preferments, during this his disability to do it himself. In this time of his retirement which was wholly spent in Devotion he long'd for his Dissolution; and when some that lov'd him pray'd for his recovery, if he at any time found any amendment, he seem'd to be displeas'd, by saying, His Friends said their Prayers backward for him: and that' twas not his desire to live a useless life, and by filling up a place, keep another out of it, that might do God and his Church more service. He would often with much joy and thankfulness mention. That during his being a House-keeper (which was more than 40 years) there had not been one buried out of his Family, and that he was now like to be the first. He would also mention with thankfulness, That till be was threescore years of Age, be had never spent 5s. in Law, nor (upon himself) so much in Wine: and rejoye'd much that he had so liv'd, as never to cause an hours sorrow to his good Father; and hop'd he should die without an Enemy. He in this retirement had the Church Prayers read in his Chamber twice every day; and at nine at night some Prayers read to him and a part of his Family out of the Whole Duty of Man. As he was remarkably punctual and regular in all his Studies and Actions, so he us'd himself to be for his Meals: And his dinner being appointed to be constantly ready at the ending of Prayers, and he expecting and calling for it, was answered, It would be ready in a quarter of an hour. To which

his teply was with some earnestness, A quarter of an bour? Is a quarter of an bour nothing to a man that probably has not many bours to live. And though he did live many hours after this, yet he liv'd not many dayes; for the day after (which was three days before his death) he was become so weak and weary of either motion or sitting, that he was content, or fore'd to keep his bed. In which I desire he may rest, till I have given some short account of his behaviour there, and immediately before it.

The day before he took his bed (which was three dayes before his death) he, that he might receive a new assurance for the pardon of his sins past, and be strengthned in his way to the new Jerusalem, took the blessed Sacrament of the Body and Blood of his, and our blessed Jesus, from the hands of his Chaplain Mr. Pullin, accompanied with his Wife, Children, and a Friend, in as awful, humble, and ardent a manner, as outward reverence could express. After the praise and thanksgiving for this blessing was ended, he spake to this purpose; I have now to the great Joy of my Soul tasted of the all-saving sacrifice of my Saviours death and passion: and with it, received a spiritual assurance that my sins past are pardon'd, and my God at peace with me: and that I shall never have a Will, or Power to do any thing that may seperate my soul from the love of my dear saviour. Lord Confirm this belief in me; and make me still to remember that it was thou O God that tookest me out of my mothers womb, and hast been the powerful Protector of me to this present moment of my life: thou hast neither forsaken me now I am become grey-headed, nor suffered me to forsake thee in the late days of temptation, and sacrifice my Conscience for the preservation of my liberty or estate. 'Twas not of my self but by grace that I have stood, when others have fallen under my trials: and these mercies I now remember with joy and thankfulness; and my hope and desire is, that I may die remembering this and praising thee my merciful God. "The frequent "repetition of the Psalms of David hath been noted to be a great part "of the Devotion of the Primitive Christians: The Psalms having in "them, not only Prayers and holy Instructions, but such Commemora-"tions of God's Mercies, as may preserve comfort, and confirm our "dependance on the power, and providence, and mercy of our "Creator. And this is mention'd in order to telling, that as the holy

Psalmist said, that bis eyes should prevent both the dawning of the day and the night watches, by meditating on God's word: So 'twas Dr. Sanderson's constant practice every morning to entertain his first waking thoughts with a repetition of those very Psalms, that the Church hath appointed to be constantly read in the daily Morning Service; and having at night laid him in his bed, he as constantly clos'd his eyes with a repetition of those appointed for the Service of the Evening; remembring & repeating the very Psalms appointed for every day; and as the month had formerly ended and began again, so did this Exercise of his Devotion. And if the First-fruits of his waking thoughts were of the World, or what concern'd it; he would arraign and condemn himself for it. Thus he began that work on earth which is now his imployment of Dr. Hommond and him in heaven.

After his taking his Bed, and about a day before his death, he desir'd his Chaplain, Mr. Pullin, to give him absolution: And at his performing that Office, he pull'd off his Cap, that Mr. Pullin might lay his hand upon his bare head. After this desire of his was satisfied, his Body seem'd to be at more ease, and his mind more chearful; and he said often, Lord, forsake me not now my strength faileth me, but continue thy mercy, and let my mouth be ever filled with thy praise. He continued the remaining night and day very patient, and thankful for any of the little Offices that were perform'd for his ease and refreshment: and during that time, did often say to himself the 103. Psalm, a Psalm! that is compos'd of Praise and Consolations, fitted for a dying Soul, and say also to himself very often these words My beart is fixed O God, my heart is fixed where true joy is to be found. And now his thoughts seem'd to be wholly of death, for which he was so prepar'd, that that King of Terrors could not surprise him as a thief in the night; for he had often said, he was prepar'd, and lone'd for it. And as this desire seem'd to come from Heaven; so it left him not, till his Soul ascended to that Region of blessed Spirits, whose employments are to joyn in consort with his, and sing praise and glory to that God, who hath brought them to that place, into which sin and sorrow cannot enter.

¹ Psal. 119. 147.

Thus this pattern of meekness and primitive innocence chang'd this for a better Life:—'tis now too late to wish that mine may be like his: (for I am in the eighty fifth year of my Age; and, God knowes it hath not,) but, I most bumbly beseech A lmighty God but my death may; and I do as earnestly beg, that if any Reader shall receive any satisfaction from this very plain, and as true relation, he will be so Charitable, as to say Amen.

I.W.

Blessed is that man in whose Spirit there is no guile. Psal, 32. 2.

POSTSCRIPT [TO THE FIRST EDITION]

If I had had time to have review'd this Relation, as I intended, before it went to the Press, I could have contracted some, and altered other parts of it; but 'twas hastned from me, and now too late for this impression. If there be a second (which the Printer hopes for) I shall both do that, and, upon information, mend any mistake, or supply what may seem wanting.

[1678.]

I.W.

DR. PIERCE Dean of Salisbury, his Letter to Mr. Walton

Good Mr. Walton,

At my return to this place, I made a yet stricter search after the Letters long ago sent me from our most excellent Dr. Sanderson before the happy Restoration of the King and Church of England to their several Rights; in one of which Letters more especially, he was pleas'd to give me a Narrative both of the rise, and the progress, and reasons also, as well of his younger, as of his last and riper Judgment, touching the famous Points controverted between the Calvinians and the Arminians, as they are commonly (though unjustly & unskilfully) miscalled on either side.

The whole Letter I allude to does consist of several sheets, whereof

a good part has been made publick long ago by the most learned, most judicious, most pious Dr. Hammond (to whom I sent it both for his private, and for the publick satisfaction, if he thought fit) in his excellent Book, intituled [A Pacifick Discourse of God's Grace and Decrees, in full accordance with Dr. Sanderson;] To which discourse I referr you for an account of Dr. Sanderson, and the History of his Thoughts in his own hand-writing, wherein I sent it to Westwood, as I receiv'd it from Boothby Pannel. And although the whole Book (printed in the year 1660, and reprinted since with his other Tracts in Folio) is very worthy of your perusal; yet for the Work you are about, you shall not have need to read more at present, than from the 8th to the 23th page, and as far as the end of 6.33. There you will find in what year the excellent man, whose life you write, became a Master of Arts. How his first reading of learned Hooker had been occasioned by certain Puritanical Pamphlets; and how good a preparative he found it for his reading of Calvin's Institutions, the bonour of whose name (at that time especially) gave such credit to his Errors. How he erred with Mr. Calvin (whilst he took things upon trust) in the Sublaysarian way. How being chosen to be a Clerk of the Convocation for the Diocese of Lincoln, 1625. He reduced the Quinquarticular Controversie into five Schemes or Tables; and thereupon discerned a necessity of quitting the Sublapsarian way (of which he had before a better liking) as well as the Supralapsarian, which he could never fancy. There you will meet with his two weighty Reasons against them both; and find his happy change of Judgment to have been ever since the year 1625, even 34 years before the world either knew, or (at least) took notice of it. And more particularly his Reasons for rejecting Dr. Twiss (or the way He walks in) although his acute, and very learned and ancient Friend.

¹I now proceed to let you know from Dr. Sanderson's own hand, which was never printed (and which you can hardly know from any, unless from his Son, or from my self) That, when that Parliament

¹ Sir, I pray note, That all that follows in the Italian Character are Dr. Sanderson's own words, excellently worthy, but no where else extant, and commend him as much, as any thing you can say of him. T. P.

DR. PIERCE'S LETTER

was broken up, and the Convocation therewith dissolved, a Gentleman of his Acquaintance, by occasion of some discourse about these Points, told him of a Book not long before published at Paris (A.D. 1623.) by a 1Spanish Bishop, who had undertaken to clear the Differences in the great Controversie De Concordia Gratiæ & Liberi Arbitrarij. And because his Friend perceived he was greedily desirous to see the Book; he sent him one of them containing the four first Books of twelve which he intended then to publish. When I had read (says Dr. Sanderson in the following words, of the same Letter) bis Epistle Dedicatory to the Pope (Greg. 15.) he spake so highly of his own Invention, that I then began rather to suspect him for a Mountebank, than to hope I should find satisfaction from his performances. I found much confidence, and great pomp of words, but little matter as to the main Knot of the Business, other than had been said an hundred times before, to wit, of the co-existence of all things past, present, and future in mente divina realiter ab æterno, which is the subject of his whole third Book; only be interpreteth the word realiter so, as to import not only præsentialitatem objectivam (as others held before bim) but propriam & actualem existentiam. Yet confesseth' tis bard to make this intelligible. In his fourth Book he endeavours to declare a two-fold manner of God's working ad extra; the one sub ordine Prædestinationis, of which Eternity is the proper measure; the other sub ordine Gratiæ, whereof Time is the measure. And that God worketh fortiter in the one (though not irresistibiliter) as well as suaviter in the other, wherein the Freewill bath his proper working also. From the Result of his whole performance I was confirmed in this Opinion, That we must acknowledge the work of both (Grace and Freewill) in the conversion of a sinner. And so likewise in all other events, the Consistency of the Infallibility of God's foreknowledge at least (though not with any absolute, but conditional Predestination) with the liberty of man's will, and the contingency of inferiour causes and effects. These, I say, we must acknowledge for the ὅτι: But for the τὸπῶς, I thought it bootless for me to think of comprehending it. And so came the two Acta Synodalia Dordrectana to stand in my Study, only to fill up a room to this day,

And yet see the restless curiosity of man. Not many years after, to wit A.D.

¹ Arriba.

1632, out cometh Dr. Twiss his Vindiciæ Gratiæ; a large Volume purvosely writ against Arminius. And then notwithstanding my former resolution, I must needs be medling again. The respect I bore to his person and great learning, and the long acquaintance I had had with him in Oxford, drew me to the reading of that whole Book. But from the reading of it (for I read it through to a syllable) I went away with many and great dissatisfactions. Sundry things in that Book I took notice of, which brought me into a greater dislike of his Opinion than I had before. But especially these three: First, that he bottometh very much of his Discourse upon a very erroneous Principle, which vet he seemeth to be so deeply in love with, that he hath repeated it (I verily believe) some hundreds of times in that work: to wit this, That whatsoever is first in the intention is last in execution, and è converso. Which is an Error of that magnitude, that I cannot but wonder, how a person of such acuteness and subtilty of wit could possibly be deceived with it. All Logicians know, there is no such universal Maxim as he buildeth upon. The true Maxim is but this, Finis qui primus est in Intentione, est ultimus in Executione. In the order of final Causes, and the Means used for that end, the Rule holdeth perpetually: But in other things, it holdeth not at all, or but by chance; or not as a Rule, and necessarily. Secondly, that, foreseeing such Consequences would naturally and necessarily follow from his Opinion, as would offend the ear of a sober Christian at the very first sound, he would yet rather choose not only to admit the said harsh Consequences, but professedly indeavour also to maintain them, and plead hard for them in large Digressions, than to recede in the least from that opinion which be had undertaken to defend. Thirdly, that seeing (out of the sharpness of his wit) a necessity of forsaking the ordinary Sublavsarian way, and the Supralapsarian too, as it had diversly been declared by all that had gone before him (for the shunning of those Rocks, which either of those ways must unavoidably cast him upon) he was forced to seek out an untroden Path, and to frame out of his own brain a new way (like a Spider's web wrought out of her own bowels) hoping by that device to salve all Absurdities could be objected; to wit, by making the glory of God (as it is indeed the chiefest, so) the only end of all other his Decrees, and then making all those other Decrees to be but one entire co-ordinate Medium conducing to that one end, and so the whole subordinate to it, but not any one part thereof subordinate to any other of the same. Dr. Twiss should have done well to have been more

THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN'S LETTER

sparing in imputing the studium Partium to others, wherewith his own eyes (though of eminent perspicacity) were so strangely biindfolded, that he could not discern, how this his new Device, and his old dearly beloved Principle (like the Cadmean Sparti) do mutually destroy the one the other.

This Relation of my pass'd thoughts having spun out to a far greater length than I Intended, I shall give a shorter accompt of what they now are concerning these points.

For which account I refert you to the following parts of Dr. Hammonds Book aforesaid, where you may find them already printed. And for another account at large of Bishop Sanderson's last Judgment concerning God's Concurrence or Non-concurrence with the Actions of men, and the positive entity of sins of commission, I refert you to his Letters already printed by his consent, in my large Appendix to my Impartial inquiry into the Nature of Sin. § 68. p. 193. as far as p. 200.

Sir, I have rather made it my choice to transcribe all above out of the Letters of Dr. Sanderson which lie before me, than venture the loss of my Originals by Post or Carrier, which (though not often, yet) sometimes fail. Make use of as much, or as little as you please, of what I send you from himself (because from his own Letters to me) in the penning of his life, as your own Prudence shall direct you; using my name for your warranty in the account given of him, as much or as little as you please too. You have a performance of my promise, and an obedience to your desires from

Your affectionate

North-Tidworth, March 5. $167\frac{7}{8}$.

bumble Servant, Thos. Pierce.

THE BISHOP of Lincoln's Letter

My Worthy Friend Mr. Walton.

I am heartily glad, that you have undertaken to write the Life of that excellent person, and (both for learning and piety) eminent Pre-

late, Dr. Sanderson, late Bishop of Lincoln; because I know your ability to know, and integrity to write truth: and sure I am, that the life and actions of that pious and learned Prelate will afford you matter enough for his commendation, and the imitation of Posterity. In order to the carrying on your intended good work, you desire my assistance, that I would communicate to you such particular passages of his life, as were certainly known to me. I confess I had the happiness to be particularly known to him for about the space of 20 years, and (in Oxon) to enjoy his conversation, and his learned and pious instructions while he was Regius Professor of Divinity there. Afterwards, when (in the time of our late unhappy confusions) he left Oxon, and was retir'd into the Countrey, I had the benefit of his Letters; wherein (with great candor and kindness) he answered those doubts I propos'd, and gave me that satisfaction, which I neither had, nor expected from some others of greater confidence, but less judgment and humility. Having (in a Letter) named two or three Books writ (ex professo) against the being of any original sin; and that Adam (by his fall) transmitted some calamity only, but no Crime to his Posterity; The good old man was exceedingly troubled, and bewailed the misery of those licentious times, and seem'd to wonder (save that the times were such) that any should write, or be permitted to publish any Error so contradictory to truth, and the Doctrine of the Church of England, established (as he truly said) by clear evidence of Scripture, and the just and supreme power of this Nation, both Sacred and Civil. I name not the Books, nor their Authors, which are not unknown to learned men (and I wish they had never been known) because both the Doctrine, and the unadvis'd Abetters of it are (and shall be) to me Apocryphal.

Another little story I must not pass in silence, being an Argument of Dr. Sanderson's Piety, great Ability and Judgment as a Casuist. Discoursing with an honourable Person (whose Piety I value more than his Nobility and Learning, though both be great) about a Case of Conscience concerning Oaths and Vows, their Nature and Obliga-

THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN'S LETTER

tion; in which (for some particular Reasons) he then desired more fully to be inform'd; I commended to him Dr. Sanderson's Book De Juramento: which having read (with great satisfaction) he ask'd me, if I thought the Doctor could be induced to write Cases of Conscience, if he might have an honorary Pension allow'd him, to furnish him with Books for that purpose? I told him I believ'd he would: and (in a Letter to the Doctor) told him what great satisfaction that Honourable Person (and many more) had reaped by reading his Book De Juramento: and ask'd him, whether he would be pleased (for the benefit of the Church) to write some Tract of Cases of Conscience? He reply'd, That he was glad that any had received any benefit by his Books: and added further, That if any future Tract of his could bring such benefit to any, as we seem'd to say his former had done. he would willingly (though without any Pension) set about that work. Having receiv'd this Answer, that honourable Person (before mention'd) did (by my hands) return 50l. to the good Doctor (whose condition then (as most good mens at that time were) was but low) and he presently revised, finished, and published that excellent book De Conscientia. A Book little in bulk; but not so if we consider the benefit an intelligent Reader may receive by it. For there are so many general Propositions concerning Conscience, the Nature and Obligation of it explained and proved with such firm consequence and evidence of Reason, that he who reads, remembers and can (with prudence) pertinently apply them Hic & nunc to particular Cases, may (by their light and help) rationally resolve a thousand particular doubts and scruples of Conscience. Here you may see the charity of that Honourable Person in promoting, and the Piety and Industry of the good Doctor in performing that excellent work.

And here I shall add the Judgment of that learned and pious Prelate concerning a passage very pertinent to our present purpose. When he was in Oxon, and read his publick Lectures in the Schools as Regius Professor of Divinity, and by the truth of his Positions, and evidences of his Proofs, gave great content and satisfaction to all his hearers; especially in his clear Resolutions of all difficult Cases which occur'd in the Explication of the subject matter of his Lectures; a

Person of Quality (yet alive) privately ask'd him What course a young Divine should take in his Studies to inable him to be a good Casuist? His answer was. That a convenient understanding of the Learned Languages (at least of Hebrew, Greek and Latin) and a sufficient knowledge of Arts and Sciences presuppos'd; There were two things in humane Literature, a comprehension of which would be of very great use, to inable a man to be a rational and able Casuist, which otherwise was very difficult, if not impossible, 1. A convenient knowledge of Moral Philosophy; especially that part of it which treats of the Nature of Humane Actions: To know, quid sit actus humanus (spontaneus, invitus, mixtus) unde babent bonitatem & malitiam moralem? an ex genere & objecto, vel ex circumstantiis? How the variety of circumstances varies the goodness or evil of humane Actions? How far knowledge and ignorance may aggravate or excuse, increase or diminish the goodness or evil of our Actions? For every Case of Conscience being only this-Is this Action good or bad? May I do it, or may I not? He who (in these) knows not how and whence human Actions become morally good and evil, never can (in Hypothesi) rationally and certainly determine, whether this or that particular Action be so. 2. The second thing, which (he said) would be a great help and advantage to a Casuist, was a convenient knowledge of the Nature and Obligation of Laws in general: To know what a Law is; what a Natural and a Positive Law; what's required to the Latio, dispensatio, derogatio, vel abrogatio legis; what promulgation is antecedently required to the Obligation of any Positive Law; what ignorance takes off the Obligation of a Law, or does excuse, diminish or aggravate the transgression: For every Case of Conscience being only this-Is this lawful for me, or is it not? and the Law the only Rule and Measure, by which I must judg of the lawfulness or unlawfulness of any Action: It evidently follows, that he, who (in these) knows not the Nature and Obligation of Laws, never can be a good Casuist, or rationally assure himself (or others) of the lawfulness or unlawfulness of Actions in particular. This was the Judgment and good counsel of that learned and pious Prelate; and having (by long experience) found the truth and benefit of it, I conceive, I could not without ingratitude to him

THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN'S LETTER

and want of charity to others, conceal it.—Pray pardon this rude, and (I feat) impertinent Scrible, which (if nothing else) may signifie thus much, that I am willing to obey your Desires, and am indeed

Your affectionate Friend,

London, May 10. 1678.

Thomas Lincoln.

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IN TWO MODEST AND PEACEABLE LETTERS, CON-CERNING THE DISTEMPERS OF THE PRESENT TIMES. WRITTEN FROM A QUIET AND CONFORM-ABLE CITIZEN OF LONDON, TO TWO BUSIE AND FACTIOUS SHOP-KEEPERS IN COVENTRY

I PET. 4. 15.

BUT LET NONE OF YOU SUFFER AS A BUSIE-BODY IN OTHER MENS

TO MR. HENRY BROME IN ST. PAUL'S CHURCHYARD, LONDON.

SIR,

I here send you two Letters, (the first writ in the year 1667.) both writ by a prudent and Conformable quiet Citizen of London, to two Brothers, that now are, or were zealous, and busic Shop-keepers in Coventry; to which place I came lately; and by accident met with a grave Divine, who commended them to my reading: And having done what he desired; I thought them to speak so much real truth, and clear reason, and both so lovingly and so plainly, that I thought them worth my transcribing; and now, upon second thoughts, think them worth Printing, in order to the unkeguling many men that mean well, and yet have been too busic in medling, and decrying things they understand not. Pray, get them to be read by some person of bonesty and judgment: And if he shall think as I do, then let them be Printed; for I hope they may turn somewhat to your own profit, but much more to the benefit of any Reader that has been mistaken, and is willing to be unbeguiled.

May 29.

God keep you Sir,

1680.

Your Friend,

N. N.

THE FIRST LETTER CONCERNING COMPREHENSION,

WRITTEN 1667.

Good Cousin,

I AM sorry, that the Parliaments casting out the Bill of Comprehenas you exprest against them, and me, at our last nights meeting. Sure the Company you now converse with, and the strange Principles with which they have now possest you, have alter'd your nature, and turn'd your former reason into prejudice, and unbelief; if not, you would have believed what I did so seriously affirm to be a known truth: namely, That this Age is not more severe against the disturbers of the settled Peace and Government of the Church and State, than they were in the very happy days of our late and Good Queen Elizabeth. Some of the Reasons why I said so I do with very much affection tender to your Consideration, and to your Censure too; and, that the last may be the more charitable, and you not apt to make the errours or failings of your Governours, seem more or greater than indeed they are; let me intreat that you remember what I have very often said to you; namely, That malicious men (of whom really I do not take you to be one) are the best Accusers, and the worst Judges. And indeed I fear it would prove to be a very bitter truth, if some did attain that power which too many labour for in these days, in which Schism and Sedition are taken to be no sins; even by men who pretend a tenderness of Conscience in much smaller matters.

And, that I may keep some order, and you be the better satisfied in what I intend in this Letter; I carnestly intreat that you will at your next leisure read in Mr. Cambdens true History of the Life and Reign of our Good Queen Elizabeth; in which you may find, what care was then taken to prevent Schism, and the sad confusion that attends it; and, how the Contrivers of Libels, and dispersers of them, have been severely punish; many of them even to death; as namely, Henry Barrow, and many of his Sectaries for disturbing the publick peace of the

Nation, by scattering abroad their monsterous Opinions; as also, for affirming the Church of England to be no true Church; and the like: Which you may find written by the said Mr. Cambden in the thirty-sixth year of that Good Queens Reign.

But, I commend more especially to your Consideration, the story and sad death of Hacket, and his Adherents; as namely, of Wigirton, Arthington, and Copinger, all Schismaticks, and of one Sect and Brotherhood: But I say, I do most seriously commend to your Consideration the beginning and death of the said Hacket; who was first a pretender to a tenderness of Conscience, but a Schismatick; and stopt not there, but became by degrees, so fully possest by the evil spirit, the spirit of pride and opposition, that he publickly reviled the Queen, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Lord Chancellour; and being transported with a furious Zeal did at last become from a Schismatick to be so infamous an Heretick, that he was condemned to death for his abominable Errors: at which time he reviled and curs'd his Judges; and died blaspheming and reproaching his Creator: This you may read in the Thirtyfourth year of Queen Elizabeth, as it is written by honest learned Mr. Cambden, who concludes this sad story of Hacket with this observation. Thus doth the enemy of Mankind bewitch those men whom he seeth are not content to be wise unto sobriety. These stories I say, and too many like them, you may find in Mr. Cambdens History of Queen Elizabeth; and you may find the like in Bishop Spotswoods History of the Church of Scotland; and also find the like in Mr. Fullers History of the Church of Great Britain; in which you may observe what labour hath been used by the discontented Non-conformists to unsettle the Government of the Church of England, and consequently of the State; and may there also find, how severely many of them have been punished: So that you need not wonder at what I said last night; nor think these the only times of persecuting men of tender Consciences.

And for the better confirmation of what I now write, I will refer you to one testimony more, in the time of our late peaceful King James: Which testimony you may view in the second Volume of the Reports of Judge Crook, a man very learned in the Law. But, I shall first tell you the occasion of that Report, which was this, "The Non-con-

"formists (which are in that Report called by the name of Puritans) had "given out that the King had an intent to set up or give a Toleration to Popery; and, they had also compos'd a large Petition complaining of the "severity of some usage, and of some Laws that concerned themselves; "and desired that the severity of those Laws might be mitigated; these "and other like desires were in the said Petition; to which they had "procured not less than seven hundred hands; and the close of the "Petition was, That if these desires were not granted, many thousands of his "Subjects would be discontented: Which indeed was not a threatning, but "was understood to be somewhat like it.

This report of his Majesties intent to set up or tolerate Popery, begot many fears and discontents in the Nation, and to prevent greater disturbances the King did appoint many of his Privy Council, and all the Judges of the Land, to meet together in the Star-Chomber; in which Assembly the Lord Chancellour declared to them the occasion of this their publick Convention; and asked the Judges this following question: (As you may read it in the very same words in the said learned Judges Reports in the second year of the Reign of King James.)

Whether it were an offence punishable, and what punishment they deserved, who framed Petitions and collected a multitude of bands thereto, to prefer to the King in a publick cause as the Puritans had done, with an intimation to the King, that if he denied their Suit, many thousands of his Subjects would be discontented.

Whereto all the Judges answered, that it was an offence finable at discretion, and very near Treason and Felony in the punishment; for, they tended to the raising Sedition, Rebellion, and Discontent among the People: To which Resolution all the Lords agreed. And then many of the Lords declared, That some of the Puritans had raised a false rumour of the King, That he intended to grant a Toleration to Papiess: Which offence the Judges concived to be bainously finable by the Rules of the Common Law, either in the Kings Bench, or by the King and his Council; or now, (since the Statute of the Third of Henry the Seventh) in the Stat-Chamber. And the Lords severally declared, How much the King was discontented with the said false rumour and had made but the day before a Protestation to them, that he never intended it; and, that he would spend the last drop of bloud in his body, before he would

do it; and prayed, That before he or any of his Issue should maintain any other Religion than what he truly professed and maintained, That God would take them out of the World.

This you may find in that Report of that Learned Judge, as it was left among many other of Reports, all exactly written with his own hand; and, as they are now publisht by Sir Harebottle Grimstone, who is now the worthy Master of the Rolls. And you may note, that the said Reports were publisht in the year 1658, at which time, Oliver the Tyrant was in his full power; and, you may there find, that even all Olivers Judges allowed these Reports to be made publick, and subscribed their Names to them; and with Oliver's consent doubtless. For, he had found, that those very Non-conformists, whose Sedition helpt him into his power; became after a short time as restless and discontent with him, as they had been with their lawful King; and indeed as willing to pull him down, as they had been diligent to set him up.

Dear Cousin! those Places, to which I have referred you, for a Testimony of what I said, are not to be doubted; and, though you would not then give any credit to what I assured you I knew to be a truth; yet I hope you now will! If not, search, and you shall find them true.

And now seriously Sir! let me appeal to your own Conscience, and ask (though you would not then believe me) how easily would you have given credit to any stranger, that had brought you news of any error committed by any Bibbop or their Chaplains; or by any of the Conformable Clergy, though there were not any reasonable Probability for it. Dear Cousin, consider what I say, and consider there is a great stock of immeent bloud to be answered for; not only the bloud of our late Vertuous King and the bloud of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Lord Strafford, whose deaths were occasioned by the indiscreet zeal and restless fury and clamours of the Non-conformists: And not only the bloud of these, but the ruine of many good and innocent Families, that now eat the bread of sorrow, by being impoverished and undon by these troublesom Pretenders to Conscience; and which is worse, there is a corruption of the innocence and manners of the greatest part of the Nation to be answered for; and all this occasioned

by our late Civil War; and that War, occasioned by the fury and zeal of the discontented restless Non-conformists; and them only; and note, that till then we knew not the name of Independent, or of Seeker, or Quaker Cousin these are the sad effects of these busic-bodies: many of whom God hath still so blinded that they cannot yet see the Errors they have run themselves and the Nation into: nav. that would imbroil it again into greater ruine than not be complied with in their peevish desires. which they miscall tenderness of Conscience, Dear Cousin, I will not say all; but indeed, too many of the men with whom you comply. and do so much magnific, are too like Simeon and Levi, that were Brethren in this Iniquity. And as you love the peace of the Church, in which you were Baptized; and the peace of the Land in which you were born, and the Laws by which you enjoy what you have, nay, as you love the peace of your own Soul, draw back, and let it not enter any more into their Councils or Confederacy; but at last take notice that though neither you, nor any of your Associates scruple at the sin of Schism or Sedition, but rush into it without Consideration or fear, even as a Horse rushes into the battel; yet, I pray take notice that St. Paul in his Epistle to the Galatians, reckons it with the deeds of the flesh, even with Murder and Witchcraft, which you so much abhor; and let me tell you, many think Sedition a more hainous sin than they. by reason of the more evil and destructive effects of it; for, Murder may become so by taking away the life of but one single person; And Witchcraft hath its limits and bounds set to it, perhaps so as not to take away the life of any man, but only to do mischief to a single person, or a Family, and must end there. But who knows the limits of Sedition? Or, when the fire is kindled, which is intended by seditious men, who can, who is able to quench it? And for some proofs of the miserable effects of it, though I might give you too many instances of them in former times; yet I will only refer you to the late Long Parliament now fresh in memory, and the woful effects of that Civil War, begot and maintained by schismatical, seditious, discontented men, that believed themselves fit to be Reformers, when God knows well they were not.

And for the sorrow you express for those men of tender Consciences,

that are scandalized at wearing a Surplice, kneeling at receiving the Sacrament, the Cross in Baptism, and the like; and would have them therefore taken away, that so many, so learned, and so godly Men might by taking them away, be brought to a Conformity. and made capable of preaching the Gospel, which otherwise they cannot do, by being scandalized at these Ceremonies:

I now ask you, What if more men, and more learned men, and more godly men, and as tender-conscienced men, shall be scandalized by their being taken away? What care will you, or those of your Party, take for their tender Consciences? Nay, I ask again, What if we forget or neglect the tender Consciences of our own Party, and comply with yours? What security can you or they give us, that this shall satisfie them so as to ask no more when this is granted? Or, that a year hence their Disciples, or their Successours shall rest satisfied with what is now desired or granted? Really, I cannot think any security can be given, but that all this being granted, yet any man of a melancholly, or a malicious, or a prevish, or a fantastical, or a wanton Conscience; or a Conscience that inclines to get reputation, and court applause, may call his own a tender Conscience, and become seditious, and restless, if his tender Conscience be not complied with: And so no end of their desires, nor any more safery by granting what is desired.

I shall next endeavour to satisfie your desire, or rather your challenge, why I go so constantly to the Church Service; and my answer shall be all in love and in sincerity.

"I go to adore and worship my God who hath made me of nothing, "and preserved me from being worse than nothing. And this Wor"ship and Adoration I do pay him inwardly in my Soul, and testife
"it outwardly by my behaviour; as namely, by my Adoration, in my
"forbearing to cover my head in that place dedicated to God, and
"only to his Service; and also, by standing up at the profession of the
"Creed, which contains the several Articles that I and all true Chris"tians profess and believe; and also by my standing up at giving Glory
"to the Father, the Son, and to the Holy Ghost; and confessing them to
"be Three Persons, and but one God.

"And (secondly) I go to Church to praise my God for my Creation

"and Redemption, and for his many deliverances of me from the many dangers of my Body, and more especially of my Soul in sending me "Redemption by the death of his Son my Saviour; and for the con-"stant assistance of his Holy Spirit; a part of which Praise I perform "frequently in the Psalms, which are daily read in the Publick Con-

"gregation. "And (thirdly) I go to Church publickly to confess and bewail my "sins, and to beg pardon for them, for his merits who died to reconcile "me and all Mankind unto God, who is both his and my Father; and "as for the Words in which I beg this mercy, they be the Letany and "Collects of the Church, composed by those learned and devout men "whom you and I have trusted to tell us which is, and which is not "the written Word of God; and trusted also to translate those Scrip-"tures into English. And in these Collects you may note, that I pray "absolutely for pardon of sin, and for grace to believe and serve God: "But I pray for health, and peace, and plenty, conditionally, even so far as "they may tend to his Glory, and the good of my Soul, and not "further: And this confessing my sins, and begging mercy and pardon "for them; I do in my adoring my God, and by the humble posture "of kneeling on my knees before Him: And in this manner, and, by "reverend sitting to hear some chosen parts of Gods Word read in the "Publick Assembly I spend one hour of the Lords day every Fore-"noon; and half so much time every Evening. And, since this uni-"form and devout custom, of joyning together in Publick Confession, "and Praise, and Prayer, and Adoration of God, and in one manner, "hath been neglected, the power of Christianity and humble Piety is "so much decayed, that it ought not to be thought on, but with "sorrow and lamentation: And, I think especially by the Non-con-"formists.

And lastly, (for I am tedious beyond my intention) whereas you, and your Party, would have the Bishops and Cathedral-Church Lands sold to supply the present necessities of the Nation; I say, first, God prevent the Nation from such necessities, as shall make them guilty of so many Curses as have been by the Doners of those Lands intailed with those Lands upon those men, that alienate them to any

other use than for the use of those that shall serve at God's Altar, to which end the Priests Portion was kept with Care and Conscience till the days of King Henry the Eighth, who is noted, to make the first breach of those Oaths that were always taken and kent by his Predecessors, and taken by himself too, to preserve the Church-Lands: and it is noted, that he was the first Violator of those many Laws made also to preserve them; out of which Lands he took, at the dissolution of the Abbies, a part for himself; exchanged a part with others, that thirsted to thrive by the dissolution; and gave the rest to be shar'd amongst the Complying Nobility, and other Families, that then were in greatest power and favour with him: concerning which (if you desire a further information) I refer you to a little Treatise written by the Learned Sir Henry Spelman, (called De non temerandis Ecclesiis,) and especially to the Preface before it: in which you may find many sad Observations of the said King; and find there also, that more of the Nobility, and those other Families and their Children that then shared the Church-Lands, came to die by the Sword of Justice, and other eminent misfortunes in twenty years, than had suffered in four hundred years before the dissolution; and for a proof of which, he refers you to the Parliament Rolls of the twenty-seventh of that King.

And to me it seems fit that the Observations of the ruine, and misfortune of the other Families that were sharers of the Church-Lands, made by that pious and learned Knight since the said twenty years, (which he left written) are not also made publick; but, possibly they may pare too near the quick, and are therefore yet forborn.

I will say nothing of Queen Elizabeth; but for King James, I will say he did neither follow King Henry's, nor her President; and his Childrens Children sit this day upon his Throne. And for his Son, Charles the First, (who is justly called the Martyr for the Church;) He had also well considered the Oaths taken by all his Ancestors, and by Himself too at his Coronation, to preserve the Lands and Rights of the Church; and therefore in his Book of Penitential Meditations and Vows, made in his sad Solitude and Imprisonment at Holmby; you may, in that Chapter of the Covenant there find, that at that time when he appre-

hended Himself in danger of death, yet, that this was then his Resolution.

The principal end of some men in this Covenant is the abasing of Episcopacy into Prechytery, and of robbing the Church of its Lands and Revenues; But I thank God as no man lay more open to the sarrilegious temptation of usurping them, (which issuing chiefly from the Croum, are held of it, and can legally revert only to the Croum with my consent) so I have always had such a prefet abborrence of it in my Soul, that I never found the least inclination to such sacrilegious reformings; and yet no man hath a greater desire to have Bishops and all Church-men so reformed, that they may best deserve and use, not only what the pious munificence of my Predecessors have given to God and the Church, but all other additions of Christian bounty.

But no necessity shall ever (I hope) drive me or mine to invade or sell the Priests Lands; which Pharaoh's Divinity and Joseph's true Piety obhorred to do. I had rather live, as my Predecessor Henry the Third sometimes did, on the Churches Alms, than violently to take the Bread out of the Bishops and Ministers mouths.

There are ways enough to repair the breaches of the state without the ruins of the Church; as I would be a restorer of the one, so I would not be an Oppressor of the other, under the pretence of publick debts; the occasions of contracting them were bed enough, but such a discharging of them would be much worse. I pray God neither I nor mine may be accessary of either.

Sir, I have been longer than I intended; for which I crave your pardon; and beg of God, that you may at last see and well consider the many errors that your indiscreet zeal hath led you into; and that you and your Party may see also the many miseries it hath helpt to bring upon others; and that for the temainder of your days you and they may redeem the time past, by repenting your indiscreet zeal, and study to be quiet, and to do your oun business; to this I shall encourage you, and that done, to live as unoffensively to others, and as strictly to your self as you do intend, and by God's grace added to your endeavours, he shall make you able; and I humbly beseech Almighty God, that you and I may daily practise an humble and a peaceable piety, so

humble and peaceable a piety as may stop the mouths of all gainsayers; for, it is certain such holy and quiet living will bring peace at the last. And in this the Almighty God give me grace to be like you.

Study to be quiet, and to do your own business, I Thes. 4. 11.

February the 18.

1667.

Your Affectionate Friend,

and Cosin,

R. W.

THE SECOND LETTER

Dear Cousin,

RETURN you, my unfeigned thanks for your Letter of the 15. Linstant, which I received three days past; it was mixt with love and anger, but I shall in this my answer, observe what you so earnestly desire; namely, not to justifie the Errors or Irregularities of those that you call my Party, or my Clerey. And for some testimony, that I will do what I profess, I will begin with a Confession, that I think as you say: That when a Clergy-man appears in a long, curled, trim Periwig, a large Tippet, and a silk Cassock, or the like vain and costly Cloathing: If he preaches against Pride, and for Mortification, his Hearers are neither like to believe him, or practise what he preaches, either then, or at other times, though what he says be an undoubted truth: Because Example is of greater power to incline men to Vice, than Precepts have to persuade to Virtue. And I wish as heartily as you do, that all such Clergy-mens Wives as have silk Cloaths, be-daubed with Lace, and their heads hanged about with painted Ribands, were enjoyned Penance for their pride: And their Husbands punisht for being so tame, or so lovingly simple, as to suffer them; for, by such Cloaths, they proclaim their own Ambition, and their Husbands folly.

And I say the like, concerning their striving for Precedency; and for the highest places in Church Pews.

And I wish as heartily as you do, that double Benefices were not dispensed with, to such an inconvenience as is now too visible. And that no Dispensations might be granted for any man to be Prebend, or, Canon-Residentiery of two Churches: Such as Westminster and Durbenn; or Windsor and Wells: Because Residence, and the other duties, required in those places, is not consistent with their distance from each other; nor, with the Donors intention: And also, because such a single Prebend, is a fair support for an humble Clergyman, and if he be proud or covetous, he deserves not so much.

And, I confess also, what you say of a Clergy-mans bidding to fast on the Eves of Holy-days, in Lent, and the Ember Weeks: And I wish those biddings were forborn, or better practised by themselves; for it is too visible they do not what the Church for good reasons enjoyns them; and they others, in the Churches name.

And, I wish as heartily as you can, that they would not only read, but pray, the Common Prayer; and, not huddle it up so fast, (as too many do) by getting into a middle of a second Collect, before a devout Hearer can say Amen to the first.

But, you ought to consider, that there be Ten thousand Clergy-men in this Nation, (for there are Nine thousand Parish Churches in it, besides Colledges and Chappels) and the number of them that be thus faulty are not many, when compared with those that be grave, and regular: And, I could name many of the Episcopal Clergy, whose lives are so Charitable, Humble, and Innocent, that they might say to their Parishioners, as St. Paul of himself to his Philippians, Walk so as you have me for an Example. But, I must confess there are too many that do not live so; and, with whom I am as much offended, as you express your self to be.

And now, having unbowelled my very soul thus freely to you, and I protest, as sincerely and truly as I can express my self: My hope is, that I shall in what follows appear to be so uninterested in any Party, that where I speak evident truth and reason, you will assent unto it in which hope, I will endeavour to lay before you, in my plain way, the many inconveniences, that would I think follow, if that liberty were granted which you and your Party have so long, and do still so earnestly strive for; the effects of which liberty would be Schism, Heresic, Rebellion, and Misery, from which God prevent us.

I did in a Letter, writ now some years past, endeavour to unbeguile your Brother: And, though it did not at that present wholly do what I designed; yet it abated so much of that furious zeal that had prepossest him, that he declared on his death-bed, "The remembrance of "those hours spent in devotion, and acts of Charity, were then his "comfort, and those spent in disputes, and opposition to Government, "were now a Corrosive, or (as Solomon says of ill-gotten riches) like

gravel in his teeth. And my dear Cozen, in hope of the like good success, I shall, in the following part of my Letter, commend the same, or like Arguments to your consideration in order to the undeceiving you: And I shall not be so curious for words or method, as diligent to speak reason and truth plainly, and without provocation.

And first, I will consider our happiness that were born, baptized, and do now live in the Church of England, which is believed by the most learned of all Foreign Churches, to be the most Orthodox and Anostolical, both for Doctrine and Discipline, of all those very many that have reformed from the corruptions of the Church of Rome. And I think it is worthy your noting; that those Bishops and Martyrs, that assisted in this Reformation, did not (as Sir Henry Wotton said wisely) think the farther they went from the Church of Rome, the nearer they got to beaven, (for they might go too far) but, they did with prudent and deliberate consideration, retain what was consistent with Gods Word, and the practice of the most Apostolical, Primitive, and purest times; as may appear by the many unanswerable reasons that have been given against both the Non-Conformists and Papists that have excepted against our Reformation: The first, for retaining too much: and the latter, for not enough. For you ought to note, that neither of them have ever writ against the Doctrine or Discipline of this Church, but they have received answers to their damage. And this being considered, you ought to lay to heart the disturbance that many of you, that pretend to tenderness of Conscience, have formerly made, and do still make, in this Church and State, even at this present time. And you ought to consider, that if this Church were overthrown, the Church of Rome would make it their great advantage; and therefore many of them do encourage and assist you in this present disturbance, and for no other end: And therefore, look about you in time, and do not say, when it is too late, You meant not to bring in Popery: But remember I once told you, there was a Lawyer that was so ignorant, that he thought he spoke against his Clients Adversary, when he spoke for him, and meant it not. And after such a manner you act for the Church of Rome: For let me tell you, that if ever Popery or a standing Army, be set up in this Nation, (which God grant I may never see) it is the indiscreet

zeal, and restless activity of you and your Party that will bring both in, though you mean it not.

Let me ask you seriously, Can you think the powerful man, that is now become of the Romish Church, did love you so much, or, like your Principles so well, as to get a Suspension of the Laws against Conventicles, because he liked your Opinions, or your Practices, when the power was in your hands, in the time of the late mischievous Long Parliament 1640? Or can you think, he or his Parry did hold a Correspondence with some of the Chief of your Party, for any other end, but to assist in the ruine of the English Church? no doubtless; for they know, and, you ought to consider, that if that were but down, there were no visible bank to stop the stream of Popery: And then, farewel the liberty and care of tender Consciences: There would be an end of that cajouling and flattery.

And next, let me ask you this friendly question: Do you think there is such a sin as Heresie? And if you think there be, let me ask you, Whether he that holds Heretical Opinions should be suffered to go up and down to poyson and persuade others to his belief? And if you believe he ought not so to do, then I ask. Whether Heresie can be known to be Heresie, or prevented, or punisht, but by some power trusted in the hands of some Person or Persons whom the highest Power hath chosen and trusted to judg what is Heresie: And then, prevent, or suppress and punish it. And if you grant this, (which no man of reason will deny) I hope you will grant Clergy-men; whose time hath been spent in such studies as have enabled them to know truth and falshood, are the fittest to Judg what is Heresie: And if you grant this, then these judges must have some name to distinguish them from others of the inferiour Clergy. And, if by a name of distinction? I hope the known name of Bishop (or Church Governour) which is so frequently used in Scripture, and the Writings of all the Fathers of the Church, and so well known in this and all Nations, will not be by you excepted against.

And this is told you in order to remembring you, that in the time of the late Long Parliament, 1640. the common Citizens had been so madded, by the discourse and Sermons of the Nonconforming

Ministers, (which pretended tenderness of Conscience) that they, being possest with a furious zeal, went by troops to the Parliament at West-minister, clamoured, and affronted the Bishops, as they went thither, and cried out, No Bishops! no Bishops! that is to say, No Judges of Heresie or Sehism: No punishing of these, which you call sins; but, we know are not: We know what is truth, and resolve to do what is good in our own eyes. And by such clamours, and, the malicious, misguided, and active Zeal that then possest those people, and a minor part of the Parliament then sitting: The major and more prudent part of it, were so affronted, and threatned, that they appeared not; and in their absence, the Bishops voted as useless, as the said Zealous and Ignorant Common people had desir'd.

And now the hedge of Government, and punishment being broken down: Dell, the Arch-Heertick, Printed his Book against the Holy Ghost; and that, and so many such other Heresies and Blasphenies were then Vented, Printed, and Justified: as I am neither willing to remember, or name.

My good Cousin, this was the effect of that ignorant zeal then; and, to this it tends now again: And to this it will come, if God be not so good to this sinful Nation, as to make the Women, the Shop-keepers, and the middle-witted People of it, less busie, and more humble and lowly in their own eyes, and to think that they are neither called, not are fit to meddle with, and judge of the most hidden and mysterious points in Divinity, and Government of the Church and State. And instead of being Busie bodies, (which St. Peter accounts to be a sin, I Pet. 4. 15.) to follow that counsel which St. Paul gives to his Tbessalonians, To study to be quiet, and to de their own business, 2 Thes. 4. 11.

I have told you, how the major part of the Parliament, and the Bishops were used by the minor part, and those pretenders to Conscience, that were of their Party. Now, give me leave to tell you, how these zealous men, having gotten into all power, used the two Universities of this Nation, and those of the Beneficed Clergy, that would not violate those Oaths they had taken, both when they took their degrees in the University, and at their entring into Holy Orders, at their being made Deacons and Priests: As also, their Oaths to the

Bishop at their admission into their spiritual Livings, and the care of Souls.

And first for the usage of the Universities: Doubtless, all rational and uninterested men cannot but think the Universities fittes to make or judge of all lawful or unlawful Oaths: As also, of obedience to Governours: But it was so far otherwise, that very unlearned, and very unfit men, were sent to Visit, judge, and reform them. And, by them was also sent the Covernant, and other Oaths to be taken without disputing; to be taken, even by all, from the lowest Graduate to the highest in Order or Power; or to lose their subsistence by being expelled both their Colledges and the University. And this was executed with very great strictures, and as much cruelty, by these pretenders to tenderness of Conscience.

And in like manner were all conformable Beneficed Ministers used by a Committee of eruel and ignorant Triers; who were to examine and judge of their Learning, and their measures of Graser. And if they were by them judged defective in either, then they were unfit to hold their good Livings; And by this means, and their imposing the Covenant and other Oaths, and their refusing to take them, those good Livings became void, and fit for those Tryers themselves, or their Friends, that had Learning and Grater; (and Gratitude too.) And they were quickly got into possession, and the right Owners as quickly imprisoned for not taking the Covenant, and other Oaths, contrary both to their Consciences, and the many Oaths they had formerly taken.

Solomon in his Book of Wisdom, Chap. 2. makes the wickedness of the ungodly first to blind them; and then he makes them to say, Our power is the Law of righteousness. And such was the Power and Law of these Tryers, and such was their cruel usage of that Power, as was too sadly testified by the great suffering of the Conformable Clergy: Many, whose great poverty and other sufferings were such, and undergone with so much patience, and so calm a fortitude (for many had Wives, and many Children) that I protest, I heard a very considerable Papist say in those times, That if their Clergy would have suffered half so much in the days of King Edward the Sixth, the Religion of the Protestants had never prevailed in England. Which saying seemed to me very considerable.

And I think this to be considerable also; That those Tryers, and their Brethren of the several Committees, came by degrees to distinguish themselves from others, by calling themselves, The Godly Party:

And by degrees came to such a confidence that they only were so; that they made God to be as cruel and ill natured a God as they were men:

Not allowing him to save any, but themselves, and their Party.

But I will urge this no farther; lest the truth I write seem too bitter.

But I return to what may seem more considerable, and probably less provoking.

I do observe, that your Party that scruple many small things, scruple not at the great sin of Schism: I think, they do scarce consider, or think there is such a sin. And this is the more to be wondred at, because, in all the Reformed Churches in Foreign Nations they think otherwise, and punish it. And they think the Dottrine, and Discipline, and Publick Worship of God in our Church to be most Apostolical, and most agreeable to the Word of God: And many of them wish theirs were like to ours. And, for a testimony of this, I refer you to a view of their several approbations of ir, as they be collected and summed up, and lately published by Dr. Durell, sometimes Preacher of the Reformed French Church in the Savy in London.

And for one testimony that the sin of Schism ought to be better considered, and carefully avoided by all people, I shall in what follows give you a relation that may prove I am not singular in this opinion: Wishing most affectionately that it may prove as useful as it is true; and as I intend it.

In the late persecution of the Conformable Clergy, there was Dr. Elazer Duncon, a Prebend, (I think of Ely, or Durhum) a man of singular learning, and of an unblemisht life; but sequestred he was; and you may guess why. This good man being sequestred, and so made useless as to the service of Gods Church publickly: And being independent of the world, as to Wife and Children; and weary of beholding the ruine of so many sacred Structures, the cruel usage, contempt, and poverty of the Conformable Clergy, (for many of them had Wives and Children) resolved to spend some part of the remain-

ing part of his life in travel: And thereby to inform himself by conference and observation, what the belief and publick Worship of God was, both in the Greek and all the Latine Churches; not only those that depend, but those that be independent on the Church of Rome; and he did so, to his great satisfaction: And after some years so spent, in his return homeward (which was in the year 1648.) he took Venice in his way: To which place he came indisposed as to his health; and immediately fell into a dangerous Fever.

This good man was in his long Travel so noted for his learning, and the sanctity of his life, that the day after his arrival in Venice he was sent to by Father Fulgentio, who had been the Pupil, and was now the Successor to Father Paul in his Colledge of the Service (Father Paul and Fulgentio are both so known and valued by all the learned of Italy, and all other Christian Nations, that they neither need my Character or Commendations) to enquire his health, and an offer of advice to procure it. And, in order to both, he would wait on him next day, if he pleased to allow it. The last of which being thankfully accepted; the Father did the next day at a seasonable hour make him a charitable visit: And after a loving and quiet Conference, the Father having treated him with words of Christian compassion, offered him a supply of money if he needed; and being ready to take his leave, told the Doctor, He and his Colledge should pray for him both day and night. Which good office the Doctor most humbly accepted of, and after giving thanks, added this:

Father, your Charity is the more perfect, in that you will do this Christian office for one that your Church accounts an Heretick. To which the Father's reply was; "But I do not: I look upon you as a true Catholick; yea, as "a Confessor, forced out of your Native Country for the profession of "the most true Religion; for, I look upon the Church of England, as "I know it by your Liturgy, Articles and Canons (I know not your "practice) to be the most Apostolical Church in the whole World, "and the Church of Rome to be at this time the most impure.

After which ingenuous profession, the Father observing the Doctor to grow faint and uneasie, left him for that time; but, after the Doctors recovery, and during his stay in Venice, the Father and he had many

free and friendly discourses, of the same subject, in one of which, the Doctor said

Father, your Confession of the impurity of the Roman Church and the 18. of your own Objections, lately shew'd to me against it, require an Apology for your continuing in that Communion.

To which the Fathers reply was:

"A man may live in an infected City, and not have the Plague, My Judg-"ment and publick Practice in Religion are both so well known here. "and at Rome, (and both to my danger and damage) that I may con-"tinue in it with more safety than others: And, separation may be a sin "in me, who judge the unity of the Church in which I was baptized "and confirmed, and the peace of the State in which I was born, to "be preferred before my private opinion, interest, or satisfaction; and "I think, to commit a Schism, and separate from that Church, would "make me guilty of the sin of a Scandal justly given; and therefore live "in it, and die in it I must, though it be the impurest of Christian "Churches. But let him that now is not of it, never be of that Church. "which is so far departed from the Primitive purity, and now main-"tained only by splendour, and the maxims, and practice of polity. If you doubt the truth1 of this relation, I will give you unquestionable confirmation of it at our next meeting. It has been longer than I intended, and I beg your pardon; and beg you also, to consider, with what inconsiderable zeal you and your Party rush into Schism, and give just cause of Scandal by opposing Government, and affronting that Church in which you were born, and baptized, (and I hope confirmed by a Bishop.) I think the doing so, requires your sad and serious consideration. For if there be such sins as Schism and Scandal (and if there were not, they could not have names in Scripture:) then, give me leave to tell you, I cannot but wonder that you and the scruplemongers of your Party, should rush into them, without any tenderness, or scruple of Conscience.

¹ The truth needs not be doubted, by any that shall first know, that Father Paul writ the History of the Council of Trent: And then, reads his Life as it is truly writ by his Disciple and Successour, this Father Fulgentio; and now Printed before the said History.

And here let me tell you, the Church of England, which you oppose, enjoyns nothing contrary to Gods Word: and hath summed up in her Creeds and Catechism, what is necessary for every Christian to know and to do: And can you, that are a Shop-keeper, or private man, think that you are fit to teach and judge the Church, or the Church fit to teach and judge you? Or can you think the safety or peace of the State or Church in which you live should depend upon the scruples and mistakes of a party of the Common People, whose indiscreet and active zeal makes them like the restless Scribes and Pharisees, Mat. 13. 15. who compass Sea and Land to get Parties to be of their opinions. and by that means beget confusion in both? No. doubtless: Common reason will not allow of this belief; for a liberty to preach and persuade to your dangerous Principles, would enflame the too hot and furious zeal of so many of your Party; and beget so many more restless and dangerous contentions, that there could be neither quiet or safety in a Nation, but by keeping a standing Army, which I know you detest. and from the cause of which God deliver us. I have told you often, that Samuel says, I Sam. 15. 23. Rebellion is like the sin of Witchcraft: and I cannot tell you too often that Schism is too like that mysterious sin; for when the fire of Schism and Rebellion is kindled, no man knows where it will end. Consider this, and remember, that St. Jude accounts them that make Sects, to be fleshly; and not to have the Spirit of God, which too many of your Fraternity pretend to.

And now, after so long seriousness, give me liberty to be so pleasant as to tell you a Tale, by which I intend not to provoke you, but to explain my meaning.

"There was a North-Country man, that came young and poor to "Londom, to seek that which he call'd his fortune, and it proved to be "an Hostler in an Inn of good note in that City, in which condition "he continued some years, and by diligence and frugality got and saved "so much money, that in time he became the Master of that Inn. And "not long after his arrival to that happiness, he sent for three of his "Neeces, one to serve him in his Kitchin; and the other two did serve

¹ Witness the late murther of the Scotch Bishop.

"for some years in a like condition in other houses, 'till mine Host their
"Unkle died; who, at his death, left to each of them a hundred pound,
"to buy each of them a North-Country Husband; and also to each of
"them ten pound to buy new Cloaths, and bear their charges into the
"North, to see their Mother.

"The three Sisters resolved to go together; and the day being ap "pointed, two of them bought very fantastical Cloaths, and as gaudy "Ribbands, intending thereby to be noted and admired; but the third "was of a more frugal humour, (yet aimed at admiration too) and said "she would save her money, wear her old Cloaths, and yet be noted "and get reputation at a cheaper rate: For she would hold some singular "new fantastical opinion in Religion, and thereby get admirers, and "as many as they should; and it proved so.

And doubtless this is the Ambition of many Women, Shop-keepers, and other of the Common People of very mean parts; who would not be admired or noted if they did not trouble themselves and others, by holding some odd, impertinent, singular opinions. And tell me freely, do not you think that silence would become our Cosin Mrs. B- than to talk so much and so boldly, against those Clergy-men, and others that bow at the Altar, (she says to the Altar) and use other like reverence in Churches, where she and her Party are so familiar with God as to use none? And concerning which let me tell you my thoughts, and then leave you to judge. Almighty God in the Second Commandment says, he would have none to bow down or worship a graven Image: Intimating, as I suppose, a Jealousie, lest that reverence or worship, which belongs only to him, be ascribed or given to an Idol, or Image. But, that reverence and worship does belong to him, and was always paid to him, is to me manifest by what the Prophet David says, Psal. S. I will in thy fear worship towards thy holy Temple. And again, I will praise thy name, and worship towards thy holy Temple. And again, Psal. 132. 138. O let us worship, and fall down, and kneel before the Lord. These and many more might be urged out of the Old Testament. And in the New, you may see it is a duty to worship God. First, St. Paul says, Heb. 13. 10. We bave an Altar. And you may note, Rev. 22. 9. where the Angel that had shewed St. John a Vision, forbad

him to fall down to him, but bad him fall down and worship God. And again, Chap. 14-7. Worship him that made beaven and earth. I omit more Testimonies which might be multiplied, and shall tell you next, that Churches are sacred, and not to be used prophanely: For you may note, that our Saviour did, with a divine indignation, whip the money-changers out of the Temple for polluting it; and said, His house should be called the house of Prayer.

And let me tell you, that in the Primitive times, many of those humble and devout Christians, whose sudden Journeys, or businesses of present necessity, were such as not to allow them time to attend the the public Worship and Prayers of the Church, would yet express their devotion by going into a Church or Oratory, and three bow at the Altar, then kneel and beg of God to pardon their sins past: and to be their director and protector that day; and having again bowed toward the East at the Altar, begin their Journey, or business, and they thought God well pleased with so short a Prayer, and such a Sacrifice.

Much more might be said for bowing at the Altar, and bowing toward the East: But I forbear.

And now let me ask you seriously; Do you think this, which I think to be a duty, ought to be forborn, because our Cosin and her Party are scandalized at it? Or do you think when I, in a late discourse, told her, how restless and active her Unkle, and Father, and the rest of the Presbyterian Party had been in promoting the late Confusions, and placing all Power in that Parliament, 1640. that murthered Dr. Laud, the late religious Bishop of Canterbury, the late good and pious King Charles, and were the cause of spilling so much innocent bloud, and ruine of so many harmless Families? Can you think hers to be a reasonable excuse: That God bad determined or appointed this, because we were a sinful Nation.

It shall be granted, that we were (God knows we still are) a sinful Nation: And deserved a heavy punishment; and God did punish us justly; but they had no appointment to be the executioners of that Justice: They appointed themselves, first to judge, and then to be the Executioners of his Will. And before I pass further, I pray observe, it was Gods Will, that his only Son our Saviour should be betrayed: But

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who would be the Judas to do it? Or the Souldiers that Crucified him? Or could Judas look back with comfort that he was used in betraying him? I hope it is far from your thought to think or say so.

Let me tell you, that the learned Dr. Abbot, the late Lord Arebbishop of Canterbury, that was next before Dr. Laud, (whose head your Long Parliament cut off) intended to kill a Buck, 1621. but the Arrow did so glance, that he kill'd the Keeper immediately. The Church of England judges sudden death to be a punishment, and therefore prays against it. And though it is certain God would not have punished that Keeper with a sudden death if the Keeper had not deserved it; and certain also that the good Bishop thought so; yet he lamented to the last hour of his own life, that his hand was used to bring sudden death upon another. And he testified his sorrow, by what I shall relate to you.

"After that restless night, which followed this sad accident, he sent "early in the morning for the Keepers Wife; bemoan'd himself to her, "and begg'd her pardon; which being obtained, he settled upon her an "annuity, by which she was enabled to live with much more ease and "plenty, though probably with less comfort, than if she had still enjoyed "her Husband. For her two Daughters, he provided competent por-"tions; and a better education and settlement for her three Sons, than "the Father could probably have made if he had still lived.

"This he did for them. And as for himself, this said accident begot "in him that which St. Paul rejoyced to find in his Corinthians, 2 Cor. "7. 11. even a godly sorrow, and revenge; for he kept a severe Weekly "Fast, the day that this sad accident befel him, during the remainder "of his life; and died lamenting it.

Let me stop here, and tell you, it is far otherways with you and your Presbyterian Party, than with this penitent Bishop; For, though it is most certain you were the cause of the late Confusion in the Church, and of the War and Bloud that followed it; yet I do not find one of you that lays his hand upon his breast, and says:

Lord what have I done? Lord pardon me. No, you are far from that temper: And, he that considers the temper of the present times, and your restless activity in it, may conclude, you are as willing to begin new Commotions, as you are senseless of the old.

My meaning is not, in saying this to upbraid, or provoke you; but rather to convince and unbeguile you. And that I may the better do that, I will in what follows answer some of the most material of your common objections.

You say, the Bishops have great revenues, and preach not for it, to which I will answer you in love: First, you say that the Bishops revenues are much greater than indeed they are: And you seem to repine, because you do not consider, how much must go out of them, by First-Fruits, Tenths, and other payments of necessity. And you ought to consider, much must go out in Bounty and Charity, and some in Hospitality and State. I say in state and attendance: For is it fit that the Judge of all the inferiour Clergy of his Diocess, and of many of the Laity, should not have a liberal Revenue, and live in more plenty and splendour than the Common People do, or can do? Doubtless it is necessary; For let him be never so prudent and diligent; so inwardly humble, and outwardly meek, yet if he have not a Revenue to live above the Common People, he must make himself a Companion for them, and lose the reverence due to his Dignity; and, by that, make himself both cheap, and contemptible; and he that will consider the necessity of a Bishop's living thus, and the small Revenue that most of the Bishops have, may turn his maligning them their Revenue, into a wonder, how they make their Revenue to do it, and a pity it is no more.

There are indeed, some few of them, whose Revenues do abound; and I think I shall not be mistaken if I say, there have been by them more High-ways mended, and more Hospitals, Schools, and Colledges built and endowed, than by five times their number of Lay Lords, or by all the Physicians and Lawyers of this Nation, though very many of their employments, turn to much more profit; and yet, theirs is not repined at.

And let me tell you also, it is not often that any is made a Bishop till the age of sixty years; and then he undertakes the Care and toyl of Government, to prevent Heresie and Schim, or suppress and punish them; and, as occasion serves, by his writing to defend this Church from the Clamours of the Church of Rome, or the resuless Sectaries of this. And may not the Revenue of a Bishop be thought a just reward

for his forty years past study, and his present care, though he preach not? And yet many of them do preach often, though not weekly. And let me add this to what is said; What if the King should give the Revenue to a Bishop only because he is learned, and condition with him not to preach; or make a Doctor of the Civil Law a Bishop, who is not in Orders, and should not preach, but govern, (which I think he may do,) what is this to you or your Party? You ought to consider this, and that the Bishops Revenues was never theirs, nor yours, nor your Predecessors, nor can any man now living claim it for his. It is only and most certainly Gods; given to him by our Kings Predecessors, and our King appoints who shall govern the Church under him, and have the Churches Revenue for their reward.

More might be added, but I am as weary of saying this, as you will be to read it

Now for Preaching, I praise God I understand my duty both to him and my neighbour, the better by hearing of Sermons. And though I be defective in the performance of both (for which I beseech Almighty God to pardon me) yet, I had been a much worse Christian if I had not frequented the blessed Ordinance of Preaching, which has convinced me of my many sins past, and begot such terrours of Conscience as have begot in me holy resolutions to amend my life, and earnest Prayers to Almighty God, the giver of all grace, to enable me by his grace to perform those holy resolutions: This benefit, and many other like benefits, I, and other Christians have had by Preaching: And God forbid we should ever use it so, or so provoke him by our other sins as to withdraw this blessed Ordinance from us, or turn it into a curse by preaching Heresie and Schism, which too many have done in the late time of Rebellion, and indeed now do in many Conventicles, and their Auditors think such Preaching is serving God; when God knows it is contrary. "For can you think to sit an hour in a warm "Room, upon an easie seat, your head covered, your mind at rest, and "your malicious humour pleased to hear your Governours scandalized, "and with their scandals some new needless Notions offered to your "consideration; and then their truth or falshood left for you to judge "and determine? Can you think you are at this time serving God, or

"satisfying your own curiosity or malicious humour? doubtless not "serving God.

Nay, let it be granted, that you hear nothing but truth preach'd, yet I question whether the direction how you should honour and serve God, be honouring and serving him.

For example, If a Master calls his Servant, and gives him positive directions what he shall do the day following, and the Servant hears him with good attention, but neglects to do what he is directed? Can you think the hearing his Masters direction is serving him? No doubtless, it is not; it is granted he could not have known his Masters will without hearing it, but he serves him not by hearing his direction, but doing his Will.

And the like may be observed, concerning your magnifying extemporary Prayer by gifted men in publick: and contempt of the Church Litturgy. The first of which you call praying by the Spirit; but doubtless, it was an evil Spirit that John Lilbourn, Hugh Peters, and many others of your Party prayed by, in the days of Cromwel the Tytant, when they prayed to God to prolong bis life, to strengthen bis Arm, and inable him with zeal and courage, to perfect what he bad so bappily begun, and make a thorow Reformation in the Church and whole Nation. And in the same Prayer to libel our late vertuous King, by praying to God, that if he had not wholly withdrawn his grace, and given him over to a reprobate sense, that he would at last bring him back from his present evil Council to his great Council the present godly Parliament.

Thus, or to this purpose, was that pious and prudent King libelled in your publick extemporary Prayers, and the Tyrant magnified by those that were so shameless as to call themselves the golfly Party. And many well-meaning people were so beguiled as to say Amen to what was thus prayed. And by this means the Church-Liturgy came to be abhorted by some, and neglected by almost all: And can you think, praying thus, and appointing God in their Prayers what he was to do for them, and their Cause, and when, and by what manner and means he was to do it, was honouring and serving him? No doubtless.

God forbid, that private Christians should be so tied to set Forms of Prayer, as not in their retired and private devotions to make their

private Confessions of their private sins to the searcher of all hearts: and beg their pardon of him, and pray extempore for such a measure of his assisting grace so to strengthen them, that they may never relapse into those, or the like sins: This doubtless is to honour and serve God, but this is but to honour and serve him privately: And if I be mistaken in my private Prayers my mistakes concern only my self, and end there. But it is not so in your Publick extemporary Prayers, the mischief is not ended when the Prayers are.

And that these should justle out the well-known, and approved Prayers of the Church, which were composed, and so pathetically and properly worded by the assistance of Gods Spirit, in many of those blessed Martyrs and Confessors, whom he made his Instruments to settle and reform the Church of England from the gross Corruptions of that of Rome: I say, that you and your Party should not when you consider this, grieve to think it was done by you, is to me a wonder; and I praise God that he makes me look upon it with a thankful detestation.

And now, good Cosin, give me leave to tell you, (as I did your Brother in a Letter writ some years past) what I do (or ought in duty to do) when I make my self a Member of any Christian Congregation, assembled to pay reverence to Almighty God, and pray and praise him according to the Injunction and Custom of our Church. "First, We all do, I am sure, they that know best, and are most "devout do, all kneel, and as many as well may with their faces toward "the East, and in that order, and humble posture, and, with one con-"sent, all make their general and humble Confession of their un-"worthiness to appear before God, by reason of their many and griev-"ous sins past: And we beg pardon for them, and his grace to serve "him the remaining part of our lives with more purity and holiness: "And having confest, and praved thus; if the Searcher of all hearts "does bear witness with us, that this Confession and these Prayers be "sincere, and that our purpose is to amend our lives, and obey him "better: We do, and may put on a modest confidence, that he will assist "us with his grace; and be assured, that he is at peace with us, and "loves us.

"And this being done in an humble and ardent manner, we proceed
"to laud and magnific our God in a joynt repeating a part of the
"Psalms, which are all composed of gratitude, and mercy. And then
"apply our selves to the hearing some part of Gods holy Word read,
"for our information and comfort.

"And then to a publick profession of our Christian Faith. And then
"we again betake our selves to beg of God, that by his preventing grace
"we may be that day delivered from the temptations and miseries that
"threaten our souls and bodies; and beg for his assisting grace to streng"then us so, that we may oppose and overcome both.

"And having thus humbly confest our sins, and thus profest our "Christian Faith, and thus begg'd bis pardon, and both his preventing and "assisting grace for the time to come: And all these in such a manner "as they be all, most pathetically exprest in the several Collects of our "Church-prayers: The Congregation is dissolv'd with the Priests "blessing; and all betake themselves to their several employments.

"And for my part I think God and his holy Angels look down with "joy when they behold a Christian Congregation thus in one manner "adoring, and praising God, and praying for the remission of their "sins."

Your being so much a stranger to our Church Prayers, has inclined me to give you this large account of them, and of my own thoughts. I might here undertake also to satisfie your scruples of kneeling at the Sacrament, and the Ring in Marriage; but there has been so many good reasons given of them, in several small Treatises, for the justification of them, that I will decline that trouble, both for yours and my own sake: And offer unto you the few following observations, and so put an end both of yours and my own trouble.

And, in order to doing this, I desire you to look back with me to the beginning of the late Long Parliament 1640. at which time we were the quietest and happiers people in the Christian World: (And praised be God we yet are so,) we had then a prudent and conscientious King, whose life was a pattern of Temperance, Patience, Piety, and indeed of all the Christian Graces. He governed I think by the known Laws of the Nation: Every man sate then under the shadow

of his own Vine, and did eat his own Grapes: that is, enjoy'd the benefit of his own labour, and eat his own bread in peace. We had then no need of a Court of quard to keep the discontented inferiour people from rising against Government: We had then no need to raise those Monthly Taxes to pay those Courts of guard, and other Charges. that are now come to be of necessity, to secure us from the yet unseen Commotions of a malicious, restless, discontented Party, which were first made so by the example of the ill-natured Presbyterians: And continue to be so by retaining the destructive Principles they then taught them: and which do still threaten us with new Commotions; thus happy we were then; and he that considers the present miseries of Germany, Poland, France; and indeed, of all Christian Nations, how many Cities lately were, and at this time are besieged, what devastations, and ravishings, and fears follow running Armies, what terrours and wants those poor distressed people now groan under! he that considers all this, and compares our present condition with theirs, ought to say, that England is at this time the happiest Nation in the Christian world: But our unhappiness is, that peace and plenty will not suffer us to think so, and study to be quiet and thankful.

This, I beseech you to consider seriously; and good Cosin, let me advise you to be one of the thankful and quiet Party; for it will bring peace at last. Let neither your discourse or practice be to encourage. or assist in making a Schism in that Church in which you were baptized, and adopted a Christian, for you may continue in it with safety to your soul; you may in it study sanctification, and practise it to what degree God by his grace shall enable you: You may fast as much as you will; be as humble as you will; pray both publickly and privately as much as you will; visit and comfort as many distressed and dejected Families as you will; be as liberal and charitable to the poor as you think fit, and are able. These, and all other of those undoubted Christian graces, that accompany Salvation you may practise, either publickly or privately, as much, and as often as you think fit; and yet keep in the Communion of that Church of which you were made a Member at your Baptism. These Graces you may practise, and not be a busie-body, in promoting Schism and Faction: As God knows your

Fathers Friends, Hugh Peters and John Lilbourn did, to the ruine of themselves, and many of their Disciples. Their turbulent lives, and uncomfortable deaths, are not I hope yet worn out of the memory of many. He that compares them with the holy life and happy death of Mr. George Herbert, as it is plainly and I hope truly writ by Mr. Isaac Walton, may in it find a perfect pattern for an humble and devout Christian to imitate: And he that considers the restless lives, and uncomfortable deaths of the other two, (who always liv'd like the Salamander in the fire of contention) and considers the dismal consequences of Schism and Sedition, will (if prejudice, or a malicious Zeal have not so blinded him, that he cannot see reason) be so convinc'd as to beg of God to give him a meek and quiet spirit, and that he may by his grace be prevented from being a busic body in what concerns him not.

The reasons that I have offered to your consideration, have crouded so fast into my present memory, that they have made my Letter more perplext, and longer, and indeed some expressions in it bitterer than I intended when I began it: But I beg your pardon for both. And supposing I have it, I will close all with this friendly advice and caution.

Remember you and I are but Citizens, and must take much that concerns our Religion and Salvation upon trust: I will explain my meaning for what I say, and have said, by this following Parable.

"There was a man, that was and continued under so great a mistake, "that though he thought and granted his Neighbour to be strong "enough to lift a hundred pound weight from the ground, yet could "not be brought to believe, or grant, that he was able to lift fifty pound "weight from it; which was doubtless a great mistake. But, if you "will give me leave, I will explain my self by a more proper Parable. "and then make my Application. The same mistaking-man offered, "and was willing to lend his Neighbour a hundred pound (though "it were his whole Estate) upon his single Bond, but being desired to "lend him fifty pound upon his Bond, he durst not trust him with that "lesser Sum, lest the Borrower should not be able to repay him: And "so he (the Lender) prove to be undone by the Borrowers inability to "repay him.

Before I make my Application of what I have told you, give me leave to tell you, the Papists would obtrude upon all Christians a belief that all those doubtful Books, which the Church of England calls Apocryphal, were certainly writ by Divine Inspiration, and ought to be of equal Authority with those which we call Canonical Scripture; and that the foundation for our faith and manners to God and man may, and must be laid equally upon both. But I think we agree with the Papists concerning all the Books of the New Testament, that is, that all were writ by Divine Inspiration. But the Lutherans deny some part of the New Testament, which both the Papists and we believe and grant to be writ by Divine Inspiration.

And now for my Application; let me ask you seriously. Are not

you like this mistaking-man, that durst trust a greater, but not trust the Borrower with a lesser Sum of money? You have trusted the Bishops, and a select Clergy in a Convocation to tell you. These you shall take to be Canonical Books of Scripture, and no other: Upon the truth of those, and only those, that they declare to be the boly Scripture, you lay the foundation of your Faith, and hope of Salvation. You have trusted the Bishops, that is, the Church of England; first, their Learning and Wisdom to know, and then their Integrity to tell you truly which is the blessed and boly Scripture: With these great and necessary concerns of your Faith and Salvation you have trusted them; and yet, like the mistaking man, you dare not trust them with what is of less concern: Namely, you do not believe them when they tell you how the Primitive Christians did worship, and praise, and pray to God: And though you have trusted them to translate the Scriptures into English, as being best learned in the Original Languages; yet you dare not, or do not trust them with the explanation of many words which have in the Original an ambiguous or doubtful meaning, especially to us of the Laity, who cannot know the Customs and Phrases of those Nations where our Saviour and his Disciples preached the glad tidings of our common Salvation.

Cosin, I hope I have in this made some unforc'd, and so useful Observations, as an humble and good Christian will not gainsay: And, doubtless, a soul truly humble, will both think and say.

Almighty God hath appointed me to live in an Age, in which Contention increases, and Charity decays; and it is certain, that variety of Opinions and Controversies in Religion declare difficulty to know them truly; but my comfort is, That without Controversie, there is so much Religion without Controversie, as by the true practice of what is so I may save my Soul. And therefore, to make sure of that, I will first become an humble Christian, and conclude, that I will in all doubtful things obey my Governours, for sure they see a reason, which I neither can, or need to know, why they command them: I will be sure to be bumble, to fast and pray, to be Charitable, to visit and comfort dejected Families, to love my Neighbours, to pardon my Enemies, and to do good to all Mankind, as far as God shall enable me: For I am sure these be Sacrifices which please Almighty God, and will bring peace at last: And, I am sure, that by using these graces, these graces, and my faith in Christs Merits for my Salvation, will be more and more confirmed; and by still using them, more, and more new graces will be still added; and all be still more and more confirmed; so confirmed, as to bear witness with me, and be my comfort when I must make my last and great account to the Searcher of all hearts.

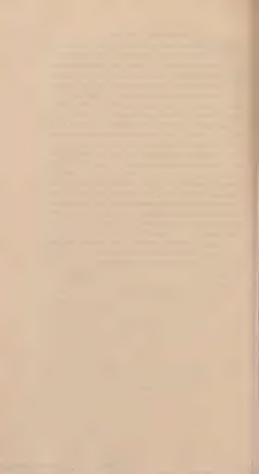
Almighty God give me grace to practise what I have commended to your consideration; for this, and this only, can, and will make my life quiet and comfortable, and my death happy. And, my dear Cosin, as I wish my own, so I wish yours may be.

September 12.

Your Affectionate Kinsman,

R. W.

THE END





Inscription on his Marriage Chest

IZAAK WALTON. RACHEL FLOUD.

Joyned Together in Ye Holie Bonde of Wedlocke On Ye 27th Daie Of Decembere. A. 1626 D.

WE ONCE WERE TWO, WE TWO MADE ONE, WE NO MORE TWO, THROUGH LIFE BEE ONE.

AN ELEGIE UPON DR. DONNE

Is Donne, great Donne decess' & then England say Thou hast lost a man where language chose to stay? And shew it's gracefull power. I would not prize That and his vast wit (which in these vaine dayes Make many proud) but as they serv' at o walock. That Cabinet, his minde: where such a stock Of knowledge was repos'd, as all lament (Or should) this generall cause of dircontent. And I rejoyce I am not so severe, But (as I write a line) to weepe a teere For his decease; Such sad extremities
May make such men as I write Elegies.
And wonder not; for, when a generall losse Falls on a nathon, and they slight the crossee,

¹ Altered in 1635 to read:

Our Donne is dead; England should mourne, may say
We had a man where language chose to stay
And shew her gracefull power.

God hath rais'd Prophets to awaken them From stupifaction; witnesse my milde pen, Not us'd to upbraid the world, though now it must Freely and holdly, for, the cause is just.

Dull age, Oh I would spare thre, but th'art worse, Thou art not onely dull, but hast a curse Of black ingratitude; if not, couldst thou

Part with miraculous Donne, and make no vow For thee and thine, successively to pay

For thee and thine, successively to pay

A sad remembrance to his dying day?

Did bis youth scatter Poettie, wherein
Was all Philosophie? Was every sinne,
Character'd in bis Sarytees? made so foule
That some have fear'd their shapes, and kept their soule
Freer by reading verse? Did be give dayes
Past marble monuments, to those, whose praise
He would perpetuate? Did hee (I feare

The dull will doubt:) these at his twentieth yeare?
But, more matur'd: Did his full soule conceive,
And in harmonious-holy-numbers weave

A Crowne of sacred sonnets, fit to adorne
A dying Martyrs brow: or, to be worne
On that blest head of Mary Magdalen:

After she wip'd Christs feet, but not till then? Did hee (fit for such penitents as shee And hee to use) leave us a Litany? Which all devout men love, and sure, it shall,

As times grow better, grow more classicall.

Did be write Hymnes, for piety and wit

Equall to those great grave Prudentius writ?

Spake be all Languages? knew be all Lawes?

The grounds and use of Physicke; but because

Twas mercenary word dit? Went to see

That blessed place of Christs nativity?

Did be returne and preach bim? preach bim so

As none but bee could do? bis bearers know (Such as were blest to beare him) this is truth. Did be confirm thy aged? convert thy youth? Did be these wonders? And is this deare losse Mourrd by so few? (few for so great a crosse.) But sure the silent are ambitious all

Mourn'd by so few? (few for so great a crosse.)
But sure the silent are ambitious all
To be Close Mourners at bis Funerall;
If not; In common pitty they forbare
By repetitions to renew our care;
Or, knowing, griefe conceiv'd, conceal'd, consumes
Man irreparably, (as payson'd fumes
Do waste the braine) make silence a sofe way
To inlarge the Soule from these walls, mud and clay,
(Materialls of this body) to remaine
With Donne in beaven, where no promiscuous paine
Lessens the joy wee bave, for, with him, all
Are satisfied with joyes essentiall.

My thoughts, Dwell on this Joy, and do not call Griefe backe, by thinking of his Funerall: Forget he lov'd mee; Waste not my sad yeares: (Which baste to Davids seventy, fill'd with feares And sorrow for his death;) Forget his parts, Which finde a living grave in good mens hearts; And, (for, my first is daily paid for sinne) Forget to pay my second sigh for him: Forget his powerfull preaching; and forget I am bis Convert. Ob my frailtie! let My flesh be no more heard, it will obtrude This lethargie: so should my gratitude, My vowes of gratitude should so be broke: Which can no more be, then Donnes vertues spoke By any but himselfe; for which cause, I Write no Encomium, but an Elegie.

IZ. WA.

[1633]

ON A PORTRAIT OF DONNE TAKEN IN HIS EIGHTEENTH YEAR

This was for youth, Strength, Mirth, and wit that Time Most count their golden Age; but 'twas not thine. Thine was thy later yeares, so much refund From youths Drosse, Mirth & wit; as thy pure mind Thought (like the Angels) nothing but the Praise Of thy Creator, in those last, best Dayes.

Witness this Booke, (thy Embleme) which begins With Lowe; but ender, with Sieher, & Teares for sinns.

IZ: WA:

[1635]

Commendatory Verses to the Merchant's Mappe of Commerce

By Lewes Roberts

IN PRAISE OF MY FRIEND THE AUTHOR, AND HIS BOOKE

TO THE READER

If thou would st be a States man, and survay Kingdomes for information; beres a way Made plaine, and easie: fitter far for thee Then great Ortelius his Geographie.

If thou would'st be a Gentleman, in more Then title onely; this MAP yeelds thee store Of Observations, fit for Ornament, Or use, or to give curious eares content.

If thou would'st be a Metchant, buy this Booke: For 'tis a prize worth gold; and doe not looke Daily for such disbursements; no, 'tis rare, And should be cast up with thy richest ware.

READER, if thou be any, or all three; (For these may meet and make a harmonie) Then prayse this Author for his usefull paines, Whose aime is publike good, not private gaines.

IZ. WA.

[1638]

NOTES FOR THE LIFE OF JOHN DONNE

At his conversion take out of Jeremy the ways of man are not in his owne power.

like doc dones letter to Tilman.

& on Sr Philip Sidny's Salms.

on this booke folyo 28, of himns and psalms with was his holy recreation the latter part of his life and is now his imployment in heven where he makes new ditties in his praise of that god in 3 persons to whome be glorie.

And his better part is now doing that in heaven which was most of his imployment on earth magnyfying the mercies and making himns and singing them, to that god to whome be glory and honor.

vew hookers preface: and hooker 226 and 220.

vew the verses before Sands psalms and Sir Tho. Haukins his

horrace, doc dons letters and the elegies on him.

in heaven wher his imployment is to sing such himns as he made on erth in prase of that god to whome be glory and honor.

his deth was the prolog to jove and the end of troble.

vew Chudlys elegies and godolphins on doc done where they are scracht and vew the elegies on Cartwrite.

vew Doc Cozens devotions.

vew the complete woman of a good grace. Vew the penygerick on

make his description that he was τ° for his complexion, then his behaviour, then his stature, then his discourse in my lord grace to the honor that he was like the dove without gall.

doc taylor, living and dying.

doc Pridiex.

Mr. Gouldsmiths poem. Vossius then.

[1640]

Preface to the Shepheard's Oracles by Fra. Quarles

TO THE READER

READER,

Though the Authour had some years before his lamented death, compos'd, review'd, and corrected these Eglogues; yet, he left no Epistle to the Reader, but onely a Title, and a blanke leafe for that purpose.

Whether he meant some Allegorical exposition of the Shepheards names, or their Eglogues, is doubtfull: but 'its certain, that as they are, they appear a perfect pattern of the Authour, whose person, and minde, were both lovely, and his conversation such as distill'd pleasure, knowledge, and vertue, into his friends and acquaintance.

'Tis confest, these Eglogues are not so wholly divine as many of his publisht Meditations, which speak his affections to be set upon things that are above, and yet even such men have their intermitted howres, and (as their company gives occasion) commixtures of heavenly and earthly thoughts.

You are therefore requested to fancy him cast by fortune into the company of some yet unknown Shepheards: and you have a liberty to beleeve 'twas by this following accident.

"He in a Sommers morning (about that howre when the great eye of "Heaven first opens it selfe to give light to us mortals) walking a gentle "pace towards a Brook (whose Spring-head was not far distant from "his peacefull habitation) fitted with Angle, Lines, and Flyes: Flyes "proper for that season (being the fruitfull Month of May;) intending "all diligence to beguite the timorous Trout, (with which that watry "element abounded) observ'd a more then common concourse of Shep-"heards, all bending their unwearied steps towards a pleasant Meadow "within his present prospect, and had his eyes made more happy to "behold the two fair Shepheardesses Amaryllis and Aminta strewing "the footpaths with Lillies, and Ladysmocks, so newly gathered by "their fair hands, that they yet smelt more sweet then the morning,

"and immediately met (attended with Clora Clorinda, and many other "Wood nymphs) the fair and vertuous Parthenia: who after a cour-"teous salutation and inquiry of his intended Journey, told him the "neighbour-Shepheards of that part of Arcadia had dedicated that "day to be kept holy to the honour of their great God Pan; and, that "they had designed her Mistresse of a Love feast, which was to be kept "that present day, in an Arbour built that morning, for that purpose; "she told him also, that Orpheus would bee there, and bring his Harp. "Pan his Pipe, and Titerus his Oaten reed, to make musick at this "feast: shee therefore perswaded him, not to lose, but change that "dayes pleasures; before he could return an answer they were unawares "entred into a living moving Lane, made of Shepheards and Pil-"orimes: who had that morning measured many miles to be eve-wit-"nesses of that days pleasure; this Lane led them into a large Arbour, "whose wals were made of the yeelding Willow, and smooth Beech "boughs; and covered over with Sycamore leaves, and Honysuccles." I might now tell in what manner (after her first entrance into this

Arbour) Philoclea (Philoclea, the fair Arcadian Shepheardesse) crown'd her Temples with a Garland, with what flowers, and by who, 'twas made; I might tell what guests (besides Astrea and Adonis) were at this feast; and who (beside Mercury) waited at the Table, this I might tell: but may not, cannot expresse what musick the Gods and Woodnymphs made within; and the Linits, Larks, and Nightingales about this Arbour, during this holy day: which began in harmlesse mirth, and (for Bacchus and his gang were absent) ended in love and peace, which Pan (for he onely can doe it) continue in Arcadia, and restore to the disturbed Island of Britannia, and grant that each bonest Shepbeard may again sit under his own Vine and Fig-tree, and feed his own flock, and with love enjoy the fruits of peace, and he more thankfull.

Reader, at this time and place, the Authour contracted a friendship with certain single-hearted Shepheards: with whom (as he return'd from his River-recreations) he often rested himselfe, and whilest in the calm evening their flocks fed about them, heard that discourse, which (with the Shepheards names) is presented in these Eeloeutes.

23 Novem, 1645.

Epitaph on David Hookham

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF DAVID HOOKHAM,

WHO DIED A.D. 1647, AGED 63 YEARS

Within this turfe, on which in life he trod,
Rests David Hookham, waiting for his God.
A peaceful, honest, faithful life he led;
And blessed as he break his daily bread.
Simple his manners, candid was his look,
His mirrour was the bright and purling brook;
And life's clear waters as they passed on,
Reminded him how 200n he should be gone.
At last his rod and angle he laid by,
And bumbly dyed. May all like David dye,
And serve their Lord and Master faithfully,
As David Hookham in this world served me.

I. W.

MEMORANDA IN HIS PRAYER BOOK

My dafter Ann borne the eleventh of March, 1647.

My last son Izaak borne the 7° of Sept. 1651, at halfe an houre after 2 a Clock in the afternoone, being Sunday, and he was baptized in the evening by Mr. Thrustros, in my howse in Clarkenwell. Mr. Henry Davison, and brother Beacham were his god fathers, and Mrs. Roe his godmother.

Rachell Walton dyed the 22° of August, about 12 on that day, 1640, buried the 25° day.

Her dafter Ann borne the 10° of July, 1640, dyed the 11° of May, 1642.

Ann Walton senver dved the 17° of Aprill about one a Clock in that night, and was buried in the Virgin Mary Chappell in the Cathedrall in Worcester, the 20th day.

A grave stone their laid over her, in which this written:

Here lyeth buried so much as could dye of Ann, the wife of Izaak Walton.

> A woman who was of remarkable prudence And of the primitive pietie Her greate and generall knowledg Being adorned with such trew humillitie And blest with soe much Christian Meeknes as made her worthy Of a more memorable monument, She dyed Alas! Alas! that she is ded. Aprill. 17. 1662.

ON DR. RICHARD SIBBES

Of this blest man let this just praise be given, Heaven was in him, before he was in heaven. [1650]

IZAAK WALTON.

ON THE DEATH OF MY DEAR FRIEND MR. WILLIAM CARTWRIGHT, RELATING TO THE FOREGOING ELEGIES

I cannot keep my purpose, but must give Sorrow and Verse their way: nor will I grieve Longer in silence; no, that poor, poor part Of natures legacy, Verse void of Art, And undissembled teares, CARTWRIGHT shall have Fixt on his Hearse; and wept into his grave.

Muses I need you not; for, Grief and I Can in your absence weave an Eleov: Which we will do: and often inter-weave Sad Looks, and Sighs; the ground-work must receive Such Characters, or be adjude'd unfit For my Friends shroud; others have shew'd their Wit, Learning, and Language fitly: for these be Debts due to his great Merits: but for me. My aymes are like my self, bumble and low, Too mean to speak his praise, too mean to show The World what it bath lost in losing thee, Whose Words and Deeds were perfect Harmony. But now 'tis lost; lost in the silent Grave. Lost to us Mortals, lost, 'till we shall have Admission to that Kingdom, where He sings Harmonious Anthems to the King of Kings. Sing on blest Soul! be as thou wast below. A more than common instrument to show Thy Makers praise; sing on, whilst I lament Thy loss, and court a boly discontent, With such pure thoughts as thine, to dwell with me, Then I may hope to live, and dye like thee, To live belov'd, dye mourn'd, thus in my grave; Blessings that Kings have wish'd, but cannot have.

[1651] Iz. WA.

Preface to Skeffington's Hero of Lorenzo

LET THIS BE TOLD THE READER,

THAT Sir John Skeffington (one of his late Majesties servants, and a stranger to no language of Christendom) did about 40 years now past, bring this Hero out of Spain into England.

There they two kept company together 'till about 12 months now past: and then, in a retyrement of that learned knights (by reason of

a sequestration for his masters cause) a friend coming to visit him, they fell accidentally into a discourse of the wit and galantry of the Spanish Nation.

That discourse occasioned an example or two, to be brought out of this Hroz and, those examples (with Sir John's choice language and illustration) were so relisht by his friend (a stranger to the Spanish tongue) that he became restles 'till he got a promise from Sir John to translate the whole, which he did in a few weeks; and so long as that imployment lasted it proved an excellent diversion from his many sad thoughts: But he hath now chang'd that Condition, to be possest of that place into which sadnesse is not capable of entrance.

And his absence from this world hath occasion'd mee (who was one of those few that he gave leave to know him, for he was a retyr'd man) to tell the Reader that I heard him say, he had not made the English so short, or few words, as the originall; because in that, the Author had express himself so enigmatically, that though he indevour'd to translate it plainly, yet, he thought it was not made comprehensible enough for common Readers, therefore he declar'd to me, that he intended to make it so by a coment on the margent; which he had begun, but (be it spoke with sorrow) he and those thoughts are now buried in the silent Grave, and my self, with those very many that lov'd him, left to lament that losse.

[1652]

I. W.

Commendatory Verses to Sparke's Scintillula Altaris

TO THE AUTHOR UPON THE SIGHT OF THE FIRST SHEET OF HIS BOOK

My worthy friend, I am much pleas'd to know, You have begun to pay the debt you one By promise, to so many pious friends, In printing your choice Peems; it commends Both them, and you, that they have been desir'd By persons of such Judgment; and admir'd

They must be most, by those that best shal know What praise to holy Poetry we owe. So shall your Disquisitions too; for, there Choice learning, and blest piety, appear.

All useful to poor Christians: where they may Learne Primitive Devotion. Each Saints day Stands as a Land-mark in an erring age To guide fraile mortals in their pilgrimage To the Coelestiall Can'an; and each Fast, Is both the souls direction, and repast:

All so exprest, that I am glad to know You have begun to pay the debt you owe.

[1652] Iz. WA.

Note in Sanderson's Sermons

THIS Preface is an humble and bold challenge to the dissenting brethren of the Clergy of England: And was writ by that humble and good man the author, in the times of persecution and danger.

Daman and Dorus: to Alexander
Brome

TO MY INGENIOUS FRIEND MR. BROME,

ON HIS VARIOUS AND EXCELLENT POEMS: AN HUMBLE EGLOG. WRITTEN THE 29 OF MAY, 1660

DAMAN AND DORUS.

DAMAN.

HAIL happy day! Dorus sit down:
Now let no sigh, nor let a frown
Lodge near thy heart, or on thy brow.
The King! the King's return'd! and now
Let's banish all sad thoughts and sing
We have our Laws, and have our King.

DORUS.

'Tis true, and I would sing, but oh! These wars have sunk my beart so low 'Twill not be rais'd.

DAMAN.

What not this day? Why 'tis the twenty ninth of May: Let Rebel spirits sink: let those That like the Goths and Vandals rose To ruine families, and bring Contempt upon our Church, our King, And all that's dear to us, be sad: But be not thou, let us be glad. And, Dorus, to invite thee, look, Here's a Collection in this Book, Of all those chearful Songs, that we Have sung so oft and merilie As we have march'd to fight the cause Of Gods Anointed, and our Laws: Such Songs as make not the least ods Betwixt us mortals and the Gods: Such Songs as Virgins need not fear To sing, or a grave Matron hear. Here's love drest neat, and chast, and pay As gardens in the month of May: Here's harmony, and Wit, and Art, To raise thy thoughts, and chear thy heart.

DORUS.

Written by whom?

DAMAN.

A friend of mine, And one that's worthy to be thine:

A Civil swain, that knows his times
For business, and that done makes Rhymes;
But not till then: my Friend's a man
Lov'd by the Muses; dear to Pan:
He blest him with a chearful heart:
And they with this sharp wit and Art,
Which he so tempers, as no Swain,
That's loyal, does or should complain.

DORUS.

I wou'd fain see him:

DAMAN.

Go with me,
Dorus, to yonder broad beech-tree,
There we shall meet him and Phillis,
Perrigot, and Amaryllis,
Tityrus, and his dear Clora,
Tom and Will, and their Pastora:
There we'l dance, shake bands and sing,
We have our Laws.

God bless the King.

Iz. WALTON.

Lines to Christopher Harvey

TO MY REVEREND FRIEND THE AUTHOR OF THE SYNAGOGUE

SIR,

I lov'd you for your Synagogue, before

I knew your person; but now love you more;

Because I find

It is so true a picture of your mind:

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Which tunes your sacred lyre
To that eternal quire;

Where holy Herbert sits
(O shame to prophane wits)

And sings his and your Anthems, to the praise Of Him that is the first and last of daies.

These boly Hymns bad an Ethereal birth: For they can raise sad souls above the earth And fix them there,

Free from the worlds anxieties and fear. Herbert and you have pow'r

To do this: ev'ry hour I read you kills a sin, Or lets a vertue in

To fight against it; and the Holy Ghost Supports my frailties, lest the day be lost.

This boly war, taught by your happy pen,
The Prince of Peace approves. When we poor men
Neslect our arms.

Neglect our arms,
W'are circumvested with a world of harms.

But I will watch, and ward, And stand upon my guard.

And still consult with you,

And Herbert, and renew
My vows, and say, Well fare his, and your heart,

The fountains of such sacred wit and art.

Iz. WA.

Commendatory Letter to Colonel Robert Venables

TO HIS INGENIOUS FRIEND, THE AUTHOR, ON HIS ANGLING IMPROVED

Honoured Sir.

Though I never (to my knowledg) had the happiness to see your Face, yet accidentally coming to a view of this Discourse before it went to the Press: I held myself obliged in point of gratitude for the great advantage I received thereby, to tender you my particular acknowledge ment; especially, having been for thirty years past, not only a Lover but a practiser of that innocent Recreation, wherein, by your judicious Precepts, I find myself fitted for a Higher Form; which expression I take the boldness to use, because I have read and practised by many Books of this kind, formerly made publick: from which (although I received much advantage in the practick) yet without prejudice to their worthy authors I could never find in them that height of Judgment and Reason which you have manifested in this (as I may call it) epitome of Angling: since my reading whereof I cannot look upon some Notes of my own gathering, but methinks I do puerilia tractare. But lest I should be thought to go about to magnify my own Judgment in giving yours so small a portion of its due, I humbly take leave with no more ambition than to kiss your hand, and to be accounted

Your humble and thankful Servant,

[1662]

I. W.

Letter to Edward Ward

FFOR MY WORTHY FREND MR. EDWARD WARD,

ATT RODON TEMPLE, NERE UNTO LESTER. ATT

MR. BABINGTONS ATT RODON TEMPLE

Sr... I came well from Winton to London, about 3 weikes past: at that time I left Dor. Hawkins well: and my dafter (after a greate danger of

child berth) not very well, but by a late letter from him, I heare they be boeth in good health.

The doctor did tell me a gowne and some bookes of y^{rs} were in danger to be lost, though he had made (at a distance) many inquiries after them, and intreated others to doe so too, but yet inefectually. He theirfore intreated me to undertake a search: and I have donne it so successfully that uppon thursday the 24° instant they were dd. to that letter carryer that Inns at the Rose in Smithfeild, and with them the Life of Mr. George Herbert (and 3 others) wrapt up in a paper and directed to you at Rodon Temple, the booke not tyed to the bundell, but of itselfe. The bundell cost me 3s. 8d. carryage to London, and I hope it will now come safe to your hands.

What I have to write more is my heartic wishes for y hapines, for I am

yr affec. frend and servant,

IZAAK WALTON.

Novr. 26°, 1670.

If you incline to write to me, direct your letter to be left at Mr. Grinsells, a grocer in King streite in Westminster. Much good doe you with the booke, \mathbf{w}^{ch} I wish better.

Letter to Richard Marriott

Mr. MARRIOTT.

I have received Bentevolio, and in it Mr. Her'. life; I thank you for both. I have since I saw you received from Mr. Millington so much of Mr. Hales his life as Mr. Faringdon had writ; and have made many inquiries concerning him of many that knew him, namely of Mrs. Powny, of Windsor, (at whose house he died), and as I have heard, so have set them down, that my memory might not lose them. Mr. Mountague did at my being in Windsor promise me to summon his memory, and set down what he knew of him. This I desired him to

do at his best leisure, and write it down, and he that knew him and all his affairs best of any man is like to do it very well, because I think he will do it affectionately, so that if Mr. Fulman make his queries concerning that part of his life spent in Oxford, he will have many, and good, I mean true information from Mr. Faringdon, till he came thither, and by me and my means since he came to Eton.

This I write that you may inform Mr. Fulman of it, and I pray let him know I will not yet give over my queries; and let him know that I hope to meet him and the Parliament in health and in London in October, and then and there deliver up my collections to him. In the mean time I wish him and you health; and pray let him know it either by your writing to him, or sending him this of mine.

God keep us all in his favour,

his and your friend to serve you,

IZAAK WALTON.

Winchester, 24th August, 1673.

MEMORANDA RESPECTING JOHN HALES¹

John Hales, the fourth sonne of John Hales of High Church, neer Bath, in Somersetshire, by Brigide his wife, one of the Goldsburghs of Knahill, in Wiltehire, was born in the city of Bath, where his Father then dwelt, (his Grandfather yet living at Highchurch.) His parents being of Gentile quality, kept him to school at Wells and Killmaston in that countrey, till he was fit for the universitie which was about the thirteenth yeare of his age.

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¹ This intelligence I had from a sister of his, being a widow, antient, and in want, named Brigide Gulliford, who came to Oxford to desire reliefe, Jan. 20, 1663. But the register of C.C.C. Oxf. diff. 1597, Ap. 16: Johannem Hales natum in villa vocat. Highchurch in com. Somerset Bathon et Wellens. Dioces. aetatis suae annum agentem decimum tertium circiter festum sive diem Paschales ult. præterit. (uti asseruit) in Discip. diet. Coll. admis.

He was admitted Scholar of Corpus Christi in Oxford, 1597, Ap. 16.

But being under age, not then sworn, till Aug. 17, 1599.

There he continued till he was Bachelor of Arts. Admitt. Jul. 9, 1603. Determ. Lent following.

1605. But then by the perswasion of Sir Henry Saville much taken with his excellent parts, he removed to Merton College, where he was chosen Prob. Sept. 2. Admitted Oct. 9. Admitted Fellow, Oct. 13, 1606.

He proceeded to his Master's Degree. Admitted Jan. 20, 1609. At the Act 1609, July 10.

Regius Professor of Greek, 1612, (potuis 1613 or 15.) Left it 1619. He left his Fellowship at Merton College. Admitted Fellow of Eton College, May 24, 1613.

Chaplain to Sir Dudley Carleton, Ambassador to the States; and by that meanes present at the Synod of Dort. Perhaps for that end.

Came to Dort, Nov. 13, 1618. Went away about Feb. 8. V. Lett. pp. 93, 100, 97.

In his being there appeares no ground for the story of Episcopius urging Joh. 3, 16.

Qu. Whether it were not rather Martinius. V. Lett. pp. 87, 92. Insignia. Johannes Halesius Hujus Coll. Socius et Canonicus de Windsor.

Vide Heyl. Life of A. B. Laud, p. 362, and Parker's Reproof, p. 135, etc.

Prob. of Windsor, May (end) 1639.

Turned out of his Fellowship upon the engagement, 1649.

Musarum et Charitum Amor Johannes Halesius (Nomen non tam Hominis quam Scientiæ) Hie non jacet At Lutum quod assumsit optimum Infta ponitur Nam certe supra mortales emicuit

Moribus Suavissimis
Ingenio subtilissimo pectore pleno sapuit
Mundo sublimior
Adeoque aptior Angelorum Choro
Actatis suæ 72.
Impensis Pet. Curweni olim hujus Coll.
Alumni 72.

Hales was born, 1584. Bapt. in St. James' Church, Bath, 5 May. King's Professor of Greek, by grant dated 15 Sept. 1612, which took effect shortly after Doctor Perin dying May 3, 1615.

[1673.]

LETTER RESPECTING JOHN HALES

I have told you that he satisfied many scruples, and in order to what followes, I must tell you that a yeare or two after the beginning of the long parliament, the citisens and many yong lecturers (scollers of their zeale and pitch for Learning, and precedence) had got Mr. Brightman's booke or Coment on the Revelations to be reprinted and greatly magnified: in which was so many gros Errors and absurd conclusions about government by Bishops, and other explications to the humors and the present ringleaders of the then Parliament (all where of Brightman is now proved false, and that party not yet ashamed) with which the lecturers and their followers were so transported with Brightman's opinions, that they swallowed them without chawing, and all thought simple that approved him not.

About this time comes a friend to Mr. Hales (being a neighbour gentleman,) and requests that a kinsman of his that was trobled with some sad thoughts and scruples might obtain a conference with him, in order to the quieting of his minde: which was redyly granted by Mr. Hales. When the perplext partie came to him at the howre apoynted, Mr. Ha. having taken him into his study, and shut the dore in order to a private and larg discourse with him, the perplext partie being set down takes out of his pocket a bible, turnes to the profit Daniell, reades a part of one of the chapters, askes the meaning of that, and

how it was to be reconciled with a part of the revelation of St. John. When Mr. Ha. had heard him reade, and heard him make his queries or scruples, he told him, he was mistaken in taking him for a fit man to satisfie his conscience, and that if he wood be satisfied he must goe to some of the young devines now about London, and not come to so old a devine as he was, but they wood doe it readily.

About the time he was fore't from the Lady Saltrs, that family or college broke up, or desolv'd, a little before which time, they were resolv'd to have Mr. Ha. picture taken, and to that end, a picture maker had promis'd to atend at Ricking to take it, but fail'd of his time, and Mr. Ha. being gone thence, dyed not long after. The not having his picture was lamented very much by the societie, in w^{ch} number the Bish' Sister (once Mris Anne King, now the Lady How) undertooke boeth for theirs and her owne satisfaction to draw it, and did so, in black and white, boeth excellently well as to the curiousness and as well as to the likenes. But before she wood shew it to any that knew either him or herselfe, she writ underneth it, this which she ment to be an Apologie for her undertaking it.

Though by a sudden and unfeard surprize,
Thou lately taken wast from thy friends' eies:
Even in that instant, when they had design'd
To keipe thee by thy picture still in minde:
Least thou like others lost in deth's dark night
Shouldst stealing hence vanish quite out of sight;
I did contend with greater zeale then art,
This shadow of my phansie to impart:
Which all shood pardon, when they understand
The lines were figur'd by a woman's hand,
Who had noe copy to be guided by
But Hales imprinted in her memory.
Thus ill cut Brasses serve uppon a grave,
Which less resemblance of the persons have.

You may take notice that she is a most generous and ingenious Lady. Greater friendship 'twixt her and Mr. Ha. she has told me he told her

he had liv'd 14 days with bere and bred and tosts, in order to try how litell would keepe him if he were sequestered. She told me he would eate very fully at a diner, and of the strongest or coarsest of the mete rather than the finest.

She told me he was never out of Humour but always even, and humble, and quiet, never disturbed by any news, or any losse or any thing that concerned the world, but much affected if his friends were in want or sick.

At his being at Rickkings towards his later end when he was alone he was usually reading Tho. à Kempis, which of a small print he read without specktacels.

He kept his opinions to himself especially towards his later part of his life; and would often say there was plainness in all necessary trewths.

He was Bowser about that time when in the contest began betwixt the King and Parliament [and] boeth armies had sequestered the College rents; so that he could not get money to pay wages to the servants, or for victuals for the schollers. But after 9 weekes hiding himselfe to preserve the college writings and keyes, he was forc'd to appere, at the end of which time, the old woman that conceal'd him demanded but 6d. a weeke for his browne bread and bere, which was all his meate, and he wood give her 12d. His concealment was so nere the Cottage or Highway, that he said after, pleasantly, those that searched for him might have smelt him if he had eaten garlick.

This was told me by Mrs. Powny from whome Mr. Montague it may be, had [it] more perfectly.

He lived 5 yeares after he was sequestered. He dyed the 19th of May, Anno -qr, Mrs. Powny, and was by his owne comand buried next day in the Church yeard. He had a monument made for him (by some friend) w^{ch} is now in Eaton church yard.

He was not good at any continuance to get or save money for himselfe; yet he undertooke to do it for Sir H. Wotton, who was a neglector of mony, and Mr. Ha. told me he had got £300 together at the time of his deth, a some to which Sir H. had long been a stranger, and would ever have been if he had managed his owne money-business.

It was happily got together to bury him, and inable him to doe some offices of honor, and justice, and gratitude, and charitie.

Mrs. Powny told me Sir Fra. Bacon and the Lord Falkland came one day purposely from London to sup and discourse with him, and return'd early next morning.

Mr. Ha. like Paule at Damascus, eate not in 3 dayes.

I thinke he bought and gave the howse in which he dyed to Mrs. Powny's husband, who had beine his honest servant of which .qr.

I have heard that Mr. Ha. being suppos'd to hold some hethrodox opinions, he, to testifie the contrary, did in his sickness (which was not long,) declare his beleife to his pupell, the Lady Salter's son, which he tooke in his writing from his owne mouth. This, Mr. Salter (who is now dead,) told me long since, and promised me a Copie of it.

Mr. Mountague, formerly the scolem' of that college and now fellow 'its like has it, and he hath promis'd me to write and give me what materiall passages he can rem' concerning him, and he will give them to Mr. Marryot if the be cal'd for.

He or Mrs. Powny will answere all the q as to the yeare of his deth, and who was at the charge of his monument, how long he lay sick, his behaviour then, and what ells is defective in theise collections gathered by me. Mrs. Powny dwells nere the college, and Mr. Montague is constantly in it being now sickly.

As you reade this make y' que. and let them be given to me or Mr. Marryot who may get a resolution for you. J.W. Octo. 20, 73.

I think the Lady Salter did many yeares since tell me she had the profession of the beliefe taken by her son, . . . Salter, from Mr. Hales' mouth. If she have it, I will endeavour to get it of her. Her Husband's name was Sir William, her son's name. Emund.

Then was told this by Mr. Anthony Faringdon, and have heard it discourst by others, that Mr. Thomas Cary, a poet of note, and a great libertine in his life and talke, and one that had in his youth bein acquainted with Mr. Ha. sent for Mr. Hales to come to him in a dangerous fit of sickness, and desired his advice and absolution, which Mr. Hales, uppon a promise of amendment, gave him, (this was I think in the country.) But Mr. Cary came to London, fell to his old com-

pany, and into a more visable scandalous life, and especially in his Discourse, and be [being] taken very sick, that which proved his last, and being much trowbled in mind procured Mr. Ha. to come to him in this his sickness and agony of minde, desyring earnestly, after a confession of many of his sins to have his Prayers and his absolution. Mr. Ha. told him he shood have his Prayers, but wood by noe means give him either the sacrament or absolution.

Letter to Charles Cotton

TO MY MOST HONOURED FRIEND, CHARLES COTTON, ESO:

SIR,

You Now see I have return'd you your very pleasant and useful discourse of the Art of Fly-Fishing. Printed just as 'twas sent me; for I have been so obedient to your desires, as to endure all the praises you have ventur'd to fix upon me in it. And when I have thankt you for them, as the effects of an undissembled love: then, let me tell you, Sir, that I will really endeavour to live up to the Character you have given of me, if there were no other reason; yet for this alone, that you, that love me so well, and always think what you speak, may not, for my sake, suffer by a mistake in your Judgement.

And, Sir, I have ventur'd to fill a part of your Margin, by way of Paraphrase, for the Reader's clearer understanding the situation both of your Fishing-House, and the pleasantness of that you dwell in. And I have ventur'd also to give him a Copy of Verses that you were pleas'd to send me, now some Years past; in which he may see a good Picture of both; and so much of your own mind too, as will make any Reader that is blest with a Generous Soul, to love you the better. I confess, that for doing this you may justly Judg me too bold: if you do, I will say so too; and so far commute for my offence, that, though I be more than a hundred Miles from you, and in the eighty-third Year of my Age, yet I will forget both, and next Month begin a Pilgrimage

to beg your pardon; for I would die in your favour: and till then will live,

Sir,

Your most affectionate

Father and Friend.

IZAAK WALTON.

London, April 29th., 1676.

Commendatory Verses to Jeremiah Rich in his "Short-hand Improved"

TO HIS FRIEND THE AUTHER ON THIS HIS INGENIOUS WORKE INTITULED

RICH REDIVIVUS

Had I the bappy Genius to Endite In lofty Verse as fast as thou canst write, I might not then perhaps dispair to Raise A worthy Monument unto thy Praise. That might in Smooth and well Tun'd numbers tell How much thy pen all others doth Excell. But being dull I can proceed noe Higher Then to approve thy Labours, and Admire. The Magicke of thy Industry Alarms The silent Ghosts, who yeeld unto its Charms. By honest Negromancy here wee have Ingenious Rich raisd from his Slumbering Grave, Who though surprize is yet Content to see His Art Refind, Improvd, out done by thee, Whose pains makes gratefull Brevity to Vye In these few Leaves with perspicuity:

The whole soe short, and yet soe plainely pend. The dullest Brains thy Rules may Comprehend. The use of such rare Art & Various worth Deserves wholle Volummes for to sett it forth. It preserves secrets from the Curious Eye, Saves tedious pains, Releives the Memory, And Clipps Tymes wings, for thus transcribe wee may More in one hower, then others in a day. The Heavenly Seed which powerfull Preachers some By belp of This is made more like to Growe; For Manna gather'd thus, Lasts many a yeare, Which elce too oft is lost by the treacherous Ear. Then on my frind, Reguard not Criticks Rage, But with thy Booke oblige our slothful Age. Though Envy fret and barke and disapprove, The Good and Just will pay Applause and Love.

The Good and Just will pay Applause

I*W*

Note on Land in Halfbed

Note

That I have besyde this lese, two asurances past to me of the land in half hed. Since the first asurance M^e Walter Noell has sould all his land in half hed and elswhere, (after his deth) but S^e Martin Noell. Now note that if euer S^e Martin Noell's heares come to lay clame vnto my land in half hed, this lese intytells me to all their land. And note that noe other can lay any clame to it.

& that I think my selfe to have an vndoubted tytell.

Izaak: Walton.

Octo^r. 23, 1676.

Note that I have now had peaceable possetion of it-22 yeares.

Preface to Chalkhill's Thealma and Clearchus

THE PREFACE

The Reader will find in this Book, what the Title declares, A Pastoral History, in smooth and easie Verse; and will in it find many Hopes and Fears finely painted, and feelingly express'd. And he will find the first so often disappointed, when fullest of desire and expectation; and the later, so often, so strangely, and so unexpectedly reliev'd, by an unforeseen Providence, as may beget in him wonder and amazement.

And the Reader will here also meet with Passions heightned by easie and fit descriptions of Joy and Sorrow; and find also such various events and rewards of innocent Truth and undissembled Honesty, as is like to leave in him (if he be a good natur'd Reader) more sympathizing and virtuous Impressions, than ten times so much time spent in impertinent, critical, and needless Disputes about Religion: and I heartfly wish it may do so.

And, I have also this truth to say of the Author, that he was in his time a man generally known, and as well belov'd; for he was humble, and obliging in his behaviour, a Gentleman, a Scholar, very innocent and prudent: and indeed his whole life was useful, quiet, and virtuous. God send the Story may meet with, or make all Readers like him.

I. W.

May 7, 1678.

Inscription in "The Universal Angler"

FOR MRS. WALLOP,

I think I did some years past, send you a booke of Angling: This is printed since, and I think better; And, because nothing that I can

pretend a tytell too, can be too good for you: pray accept of this also, from me that am really,

Madam, your most affectionate ffriend;

And most humble servant.

IZAAK WALTON.

FARNHAM CASTELL, decemr. 19°, 1678.

LETTER TO JOHN AUBREY

"ffor y" friends que this.

I only knew Ben Jonson: But my Lord of Winton knew him very well; and says, he was in the 6°., that is, the uppermost fforme in Westminster scole, at which time his father dyed, and his mother married a brickelayer, who made him (much against his will) help him in his trade; but in a short time, his scolemaister, Mr. Camden, got him a better imployment, which was to atend or acompany a son of Sir Walter Rauley's in his travills. Within a short time after their return, they parted, (I think not in cole bloud) and with a love sutable to what they had in their travilles (not to be commended). And then Ben began to set up for himself in the trade by which he got his subsistance and fame, of which I need not give any account. He got in time to have a 100 f a yeare from the king, also a pension from the cittie, and the like from many of the nobilitie and some of the gentry, wch was well pay'd, for love or fere of his railing in verse, or prose, or boeth. My lord told me, he told him he was (in his long retyrement and sickness, when he saw him, which was often) much afflickted, that hee had profained the scripture in his playes, and lamented it with horror: yet that, at that time of his long retyrement, his pension (so much as came in) was given to a woman that govern'd him (with whome he liv'd and dved near the Abie in Westminster); and that nether he nor she tooke too much care for next weike: and

wood be sure not to want wine: of weth he usually tooke too much before he went to bed, if not oftener and soner. My lord tells me, he knowes not, but thinks he was born in Westminster. The question may be put to Mr. Wood very easily upon what grounds he is positive as to his being born their; he is a friendly man, and will resolve it. So much for brave Ben. You will not think the rest so tedyous as I doe this.

ffor the 2 and 3 query of Mr. Hill, and Bilingsley, I do neither know nor can learn any thing worth telling you.

for yr two remaining que of Mr. Warner, and Mr. Harriott this:

Mr. Warner did long and constantly lodg nere the water-stares, or market, in Woolstable. Woolstable is a place not far from Charing-Crosse, and nerer to Northumberland-house. My lord of Winchester tells me, he knew him, and that he sayde, he first found out the cerculation of the blood, and discover'd it to Dr. Harvie (who said that 'twas he (himselfe) that found it) for which he is so memorally famose. Watner had a pension of 40. a yeare from that Earle of Northumberland that lay so long a prisner in the Towre, and som allowance from Sir Tho. Aylesbury, and with whom he usually spent his sumer in Windsor Park, and was welcom, for he was harmles and quet. His winter was spent at the Woolstable, where he dyed in the time of the parlement of 1640, of which or whome, he was no lover.

Mr. Herriott, my lord tells me, he knew also: That he was a more gentile man than Warner. That he had 120£ a yeare pension from the said Earle (who was a lover of their studyes), and his lodgings in Syon-house, where he thinks, or believes, he dyed.

This is all I know or can learne for your friend; which I wish may be worth the time and trouble of reading it.

I. W.

Novr. 22, 80.

IZAAK WALTON'S WILL

August the 9°, 1683.

In the name of God Amen. I Izaak Walton the elder of Winchester being this present day in the neintyeth yeare of my age and
in perfect memory for wich praysed be God: but Considering how
sodainly I may be deprived of boeth doe therfore make this my last
will and testament as followeth. And first I doe declare my beleife
to be that their is only one God who hath made the whole world and
me and all mankinde to whome I shall give an acount of all my
actions which are not to be justified, but I hope pardoned for the
merits of my saviour Jesus.—And because the profession of Cristianity does at this time, seime to be subdevided into papist and protestant, I take it to be at least convenient to declare my beleife to be
in all poynts of faith, as the Church of England now professeth.
And this I doe the rather, because of a very long and very trew
friendship with some of the Roman Church.

And for my worldly estate, (which I have nether got by falshood or flattery or the extreme crewelly of the law of this nation,) I doe hereby give and bequeth it as followeth.—First I give my son-in-law D* Hawkins and to his Wife, to them I give all my tytell and right of or in a part of a howse and shop in Pater-noster-rowe in London; which I hold by lease from the Lord Bishop of London for about 50 years to come. and I doe also give to them all my right and tytell of or to a howse in Chansery-lane, London; where in Mrs. Greinwood now dwelleth, in which is now about 16 years to come. I give these two leases to them, they saving my executor from all damage concerning the same. [And I doe also give to my saide daffer all my books this day at Winchester and Droxford: and what ever ells I can call mine their, except a trunk of linen we'h I give my son Izaak Walton. But if he doe not marry, or use the saide linen himselfe, then I give the same to my grand-doughter Anne Hawkins].\(^1\)

¹ This passage was erased, being repeated lower down.

And I give to my son Izaak, all my right and tytell to a lease of Norington farme, which I hold from the lord Bp of Winton. And I doe also give him all my right and tytell to a farme or land nere to Stafford: which I bought of Mr. Walter Noell: I say, I give it to him and his heares for ever, but upon the condition following, Namely-If my sone shall not marry before he shall be of the age of forty and one yeare; or being marryed shall dye before the saide age and leve noe son to inherit the saide farme or land; or if his son or sonns shall not live to ataine the age of twentie and one yeare, to dispose otherwayes of it, then I give the saide farme or land to the towne or corperation of Stafford (in which I was borne,) for the good and benifit of some of the saide towne, as I shall direct and as followeth, but first note, that it is at this presant time rented for 21th 10s a yeare (and is like to hold the said rent, if care be taken to keipe the barne and howsing in repaire) and I wood have and doe give ten pownd of the saide rent, to bind out yearely two boyes, the sons of honest and pore parents to be apprentises to som tradesman or handy craft-men, to the intent the saide boyes may the better afterward get their owne living .- And I doe also give five pownd yearly, out of the said rent to be given to some meade-servant, that hath atain'd the age of twenty and one yeare (not les), and dwelt long in one servis, or to som honest pore man's daughter, that hath atain'd to that age, to be paide her, at or on the day of her marriage. And this being done, my will is, that what rent shall remaine of the saide farme or land, shall be disposed of as followeth.

First I doe give twenty shillings yearely, to be spent by the maior of Stafford and those that shall colect the said rent: and dispose of it as I have and shall hereafter direct. And that what money or rent shall remaine undisposed offe shall be imployed to buie coles for some pore people, that shall most neide them in the said towne; the saide coles to be delivered the last weike in Janewary, or in every first weike in Febrewary: I say then, because I take that time to be the hardest and most pinching times with pore people. And God reward those that shall doe this with out partialitie and with honestie and a good continence.

And if the saide major and others of the saide towne of Stafford, shall prove so necligent or dishonest as not to imploy the rent by me given as intended and exprest in this my will, (which God forbid,) then I give the saide rents and profits, of the saide farme or land, to the towne and chiefe magestrats or governers of Ecles-hall, to be disposed by them in such maner as I have ordered the disposall of it, by the towne of Stafford, the said Farme or land being nere the towne of Ecles-hall.

And I give to my sonzin-law Doctor Hawkins, (whome I love as my owne son) and to my dafter his wife, and my son Izaak to each of them a ring with these words or motto;—love my memory, I.W. objet — to the Lord B^p of Winton a ring with this motto—a mite for a million: I. W. objet — "And to the freinds hereafter named I give to each of them a ring with this motto A friends farewell. I. W. objet" — And my will is, the said rings be deliverd within fortic dayes after my deth. and that the price or valew of all the saide rings shall be—13s. 4d. a peice.

I give to Doctor Hawkins Docto' Donns Sermons; which I have hear'd preacht, and read with much content. to my son Izaak I give Doc' Sibbs his Soules Conflict, and to my doughter his Brewsed Reide; desiring them to reade them so, as to be well aquanted with them, and I also give to her all my bookes at Winchester and Droxford, and what ever in those two places are or I can call mine: except a trunk of linen, which I give to my son Izaak, but if he doe not live to make use of it, then I give the same to my grand-daffer, Anne Hawkins: And I give my dafter Doc' Halls Works which be now at Farnham.

To my son Izaak I give all my books, (not yet given) at Farnham Castell and a deske of prints and pickters; also a cabinet nere my beds head, in w^{ch} are some littell things that he will valew tho of noe greate worth.

And my will and desyre is, that he will be kinde to his Ante Beacham and his ant Rose Ken: by alowing the first about fiftie shilling a yeare in or for bacon and cheise (not more), and paying 4th a yeare toward the bordin of her son's dyut to Mr. John Whitehead. for his Ante Ken, I desyre him to be kinde to her acording to her necessite

and his owne abillitie, and I comend one of her children to breide up (as I have saide I intend to doe), if he shall be able to do it, as I know he will; for, they be good folke.

I give to Mr. John Darbishire the Sermons of Mr. Antony Faringdon, or of do Sanderson, which my executor thinks fit, to my servant, Thomas Edghill I give five pownd in mony, and all my clothes linen and wollen (except one sute of clothes, which I give to Mr. Holinshed, and forty shiling) if the saide Thomas be my servant at my deth, if not my cloths only.

And I give my old friend Mr. Richard Marriot ten pownd in mony, to be paid him within. 3. months after my deth. and I desyre my son to shew kindenes to him if he shall neide, and my son can spare it. And I doe hereby will and declare my son Izaak to be my sole

executor of this my last will and testament; and Dor Hawkins, to see that he performs it, which I doubt not but he will.

I desyre my buriall may be nere the place of my deth; and free from any ostentation or charg, but privately: this I make to be my last will, (to which I shall only add the codicell for rings,) this 16. day of August, 1683.

IZAAK WALTON

Witnes to this will

The rings I give are as on the other side.

To my brother Ion Ken. to my brother Beacham.

to my sister his wife. to my sister his wife.

to my brother Doc' Ken. to the lady Anne How.

to my sister Pve.

to Mrs. King Dor Philips wife. to Mr. Francis Morley. to Mr. Valantine Harecourt.

to Sr George Vernon. to Mrs. Elyza Johnson,

to his wife. to Mrs. Doro. Wallop.

to his 3 dafters. to Mr. Wil. Milward, of Christto Mrs. Nelson. church, Oxford.

to Mr. Rich, Walton. to Mr. John Darbeshire.

to Mr. Palmer. to Mrs. Vuedvill. to Mr. Taylor.

to Mrs. Rock

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to Mr. Tho. Garrard. to Mr. Peter White.

to the Lord B^p of Sarum. to Mr. John Lloyde.
to Mr. Rede his servant. to my cozen Greinsells widow

to my Coz. Dorothy Kenrick. -

to Mr. Cha. Cotton. 16 Mrs. Dalbin must not be to Mr. Rich. Marryot. forgotten.

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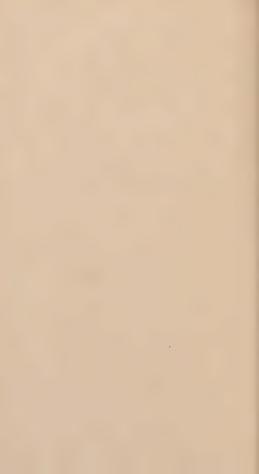
Note that several lines are blotted out of this will for they were twice repeted: And, that this will is now signed and sealed, this twenty and fourth day of October 1683 in the presence of us—

IZAAK WALTON

Witnes, Abra: Markland. Jos: Taylor, Thomas Crawley.



THE LIFE OF WALTON AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES



THE LIFE OF IZAAK WALTON

I ZAAK WALTON, the loving biographer of several of his friends, has left little record of the details of his own life. One of his favourite mottoes, "Study to be quiet", was exemplified in his long and apparently uneventful existence. Could he but have written his own biography, it had abounded with evidences of his strong humanity, of his appreciation of the small things of life, of the value he set upon friendship and human relationships. All this may be inferred from his writings, but a brief account of the main facts of his life as they are known is needed to form a setting for his personality.

Walton was born at Stafford on August 9, 1593. He was baptised in the Church of St. Mary on September 21, and according to the entry on the register he was the son of Jervis Walton, of whom nothing further is known except that he died in February 1596/7. Of Walton's mother nothing is known, not even her name. His early life and education was presumably conducted at Stafford, but no certain facts are known until examination is made of the records of the Ironmongers' Company, where it is stated that having been "late apprentice to Thomas Grinsall" he was "admitted and sworne a free brother of this companie" on 12 November, 1617/18.1 From this it may be inferred that he had already been for at least seven years in London, and so must have been there in 1611 when he was eighteen. He may even have come sooner than this, for a reference in his will to "my cozen Griensell's widow" shows that he was related to his first employer. His business was formerly believed to have been that of a haberdasher or linen draper, but this is shown to be untrue both by the records already mentioned and by his marriage licence of 1626, in which he is described as "of the City of London, Ironmonger".2 Whatever his occupation may have been it did not prevent his following his bent,

¹ See Notes and Queries, Dec. 29, 1928. ² Ibid.

which was a genius for friendship. The ironmonger's apprentice became the intimate associate of many of the most distinguished men of his time, and it is evident that he had unusual attractions of mind and personality. Part of this was no doubt his love of literature, which must have shown itself at an early age. When he was only twenty he was the object of dedicatory verses prefixed to a poem, The Loves of Amos and Laura, by S. P., 1613. The writer, who addresses Walton as "thou thrice beloved friend", may have been Samuel Purchas, author of The Pilgrimer, but his is uncertain. He attributes to Walton some of the responsibility for the composition of the poem.

Walton carried on his business in Chancery Lane and Fleet Street, and he is stated to have lived in 1624 on the north side of Fleet Street in a house two doors west of the end of Chancery Lane. From 1628 to 1644 he probably lived in Chancery Lane itself, and the parish books of St. Dunstan's show that he fulfilled the ordinary duties of a householder as scavenger, juryman, constable, grand juryman, overseer of the poor, sidesman and vestryman, 1 He is also stated to have served as a "gentleman in foins" in the mayoralty of Sir Thomas Campbell, and to have been chosen Warden of the Yeomanry in 1637.2 It may be supposed that it was his residence in Fleet Street that led him to attend services at St. Dunstan's in the West, and so to the friendship of Dr. Donne, who was Vicar of St. Dunstan's from 1621. He also came to know others of Donne's circle, such as Sir Henry Wotton, Dr. Henry King, afterwards Bishop of Chichester, and John Hales of Eton. George Herbert he had met, but the acquaintance was so slight that he did not claim him as a friend. Other literary friends, however, are mentioned in his writings, such as Ben Jonson and Michael Drayton, and it is evident that he might even have known Shakespeare, though of this he has given no sign.

His first marriage took place on December 27, 1626, his wife being Rachel Floud of Canterbury, through whom he became connected with the Cranmer family. Their marriage chest, now preserved at

The Complete Angler, ed. Nicolas, 1836, p. clix.
 The Complete Angler, ed. Marston, Oxford, 1921, p. xii.

Warwick Castle, carries on it two punning lines, which may be Walton's earliest surviving composition. Rachel Walton lived for nearly fourteen years after her marriage and bore six children, but none of them survived infancy. Nothing further is known of Walton's married life. Rachel Walton died in 1640, and six years later Walton married for the second time, his wife being Anne Ken, half-sister to Bishop Ken of Winchester. By her he had three children, a daughter and two sons, one of whom survived. Anne Walton lived for sixteen years after her marriage, dying at Worcester in 1662, probably while she and her husband were with their friend George Morley, then Bishop of Worcester, who is known to have made Walton his steward.\(^1\) She was buried in the Cathedral, where her monument carries the epitaph printed here among Walton's Miscellaneous Writings.

Meanwhile, in 1644, Walton had left his house in Chancery Lane, because it was "dangerous for honest men to be there", dangerous, that is, for a Royalist. There is no reason, however, for supposing that he left London, and it is probable that in 1650 he was living in Clerkenwell. In 1651 he played a small part in the Commonwealth drama, helping to restore to King Charles a ring, the "lesser George", saved from some baggage which had been captured by Cromwell after the battle of Worcester, Walton did not want high adventure, but sought rather the contemplative man's recreation. It was in the pursuit of angling that his spirit found its greatest satisfaction, and it is certain that Walton lost no opportunity of indulging this fancy. He delighted particularly in fishing the river Lea in the neighbourhood of Ware. He also paid visits to Stafford and acquired a house and land near the town at Shallowford. The house, which is still standing, may actually have been his birthplace, but whether or not he had this reason for acquiring it, it certainly gave him further opportunity of pursuing his grand passion in a type of stream different from those of his London hannts.

¹ See an article by John Beresford in Notes and Queries, Sept. 15, 1923 (13 s., p. 204). The fact was ascertained by Canon Price.

As he grew older, he became intimate with an increasing number of ecclesiastics, among whom were Richard Hooker, Robert Sanderson, Thomas Fuller and George Morley. These names have survived, but it cannot be doubted that Walton's love of fishing brought him many other friends, obscurer, though equally dear. The same influence cemented one distinguished friendship. Charles Cotton, the poet, forming with Walton the most famous piscatorial association in history. Charles Cotton the elder, of Beresford Hall on the borders of Staffordshire and Derbyshire, was the friend of Wotton. Donne and Walton, and so his son, the younger Charles, had known Walton from childhood, Walton had published his Compleat Angler in 1653, and it had immediately become popular, so that several editions were sold in a few years. The author had spent many a quiet happy day fishing with worm or fly in the rivers round London or in Dovedale, and the result was the most engaging treatise on angling ever written. It may not be impeccable in scientific accuracy, and a great deal of it is not connected with fishing, but the book was the product of long contentment and repose, and reflects its writer's character as clearly as the stillest pool ever gave back his face. Walton's association with the worldly Charles Cotton may seem somewhat incongruous, vet Cotton's continuation, or imitation, of The Compleat Angler, with its letter addressed to his "Father" Izaak Walton, has had more part in keeping his fame bright than any of his other writings. The two books were first printed together in 1676, and have scarcely ever been divorced through innumerable editions until the present day. The Compleat Angler possesses an innocent charm which no amount of petting from Walton's devotees can spoil; yet it is safe to assert that the artlessness with which it was composed is more apparent than real. Walton was a more practised writer than he allowed the ordinary reader to discern, though at what date he first began to write, it is now impossible to guess. His earliest published work was his elegy on Donne, included in the first edition of Poems by I. D. in 1633. During the remainder of his life he wrote at intervals elegies, epitaphs, commendatory verses, and prefaces for various works, an account of which will be found in the notes on the Miscel

laneous Writings. His biographical faculty he first began to exercise in 1639. He had before this been collecting material for Sir Henry Wotton with which to write an account of Donne's life, but Wotton died in 1639 without having carried out his intention, whereupon Walton stepped into the gap, and composed the celebrated Life printed with Donne's Sermons in 1640. Donne had been the friend of his youth and was one of the most extraordinary figures of his time, so that Walton was unlikely ever to find again so inspiriting a subject. Yet the later Lives of Wotton, Herbert, Hooker and Sanderson! possess almost the same grace and spontaneity, even when Walton had never seen the subject of his study. He understood something of the artistic value of small details and personal traits, and so was the forerunner of the most modern exponents of the art of biography.

By 1662 Walton was nearly seventy years of age, but this did not deter him from obtaining from the Bishop of London a forty years' lease of a house in Paternoster Row; nor from asking, in 1670, for an extension of the lease on condition of his rebuilding the house, which had been burnt down in the Great Fire. Evidently his vigour was still considerable, though in the course of nature it gradually abated during the last twenty years of his life. He was fortunate in possessing a loval friend and a loving daughter, so that his old age was made happy and comfortable by the division of his time between these two. The friend was George Morley, whom Walton had first known as a canon and Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, afterwards as Bishop of Worcester. and finally as Bishop of Winchester. Morley had actually appointed Walton as his steward, when he was at Worcester and probably also at Winchester, so that much of his last years was spent in retreat at Farnham Castle, the episcopal residence. Many of his books were kept there, and it was at Morley's suggestion that he wrote the last three of his Lives. He was further attracted to Winchester because his daughter Anne had married Dr. Hawkins, who was Prebendary of Winchester and Rector of Droxford, a village situated twelve miles

¹ He also collected materials for a Life of John Hales of Eton, and his notes are printed here among the Miscellaneous Writings, but these were not used as far as is known.

from the city. Recent investigations have shown that Walton spent much of his last years at Droxford, and that several of the friends mentioned in his will lived there.

In 1680, when he was eighty-seven, he published another work, Love and Truth, consisting of two letters purporting to have been written to a citizen of Coventry in 1657 and 1679. The tract is concerned with church observance, religion and politics, and was not acknowledged by Walton. The evidence of authorship, discussed in the notes that follow, was, however, too strong to be put aside, and the work has here been admitted to the canon of Walton's complete writings. A vein of piety can be discerned in all his work, and became more obvious the older he grew. Love and Truth has fewer attractions than anything else he wrote, but there is nothing in it that is inconsistent with his character and beliefs.

It does not seem to have occurred to Walton before 1683 that he might die, but at last, on August 9 of that year, his ninetieth birthday, he decided to make his will, the text of which is given here among his Miscellaneous Writings. He disposed of his London property in Paternoster Row and Chancery Lane, of land which he had acquired near Winchester, and of his Staffordshire estate, the income from which was to be applied, after his son's interest had lapsed, to charitable purposes in the town of Stafford. His books at Winchester and Droxford were left, except for a few special bequests, to his daughter; to his son he left those at Farnham Castle, and some of these are to be found at the present time in Salisbury Cathedral Library, the younger Izaac having afterwards become a Canon of Salisbury. Friends and servants were not forgotten, and finally a long list of names is given of other friends and relations who were to receive at his death mourning rings with the motto: "A friend's farewell. I. W. obiet". A special ring was to be given to Bishop Morley with the motto: "A mite for a million". Izaak Walton in his ninetieth year was "in perfect memory", and characteristically determined that as many of his human ties as

¹ See The Wild Flowers of Selborne and other Papers, by the Rev. John Vaughan, Rector of Droxford and Hon. Canon of Winchester, London, 1906, pp. 157-171.

possible should be kept intact even after his bodily presence had passed away. The will was signed on August 16, 1683, and the intentions expressed in it were soon to be realised, for on December 15 of the same year, during a severe frost, he died in the house of his son-in-law in the Close at Winchester. He was buried without ostentation in Prior Silkstead's Chapel in the Cathedral.

Izaak Walton's appearance in later life has been recorded in the portrait by Jacob Huysman, 1 from which the copper-plate in the present work has been engraved, and in the pastel by Edmund Ashfield,2 These pictures represent a man of quiet and benevolent demeanour, whose semi-clerical dress is perhaps to be attributed to his office as steward to Bishop Morley. It is quite evident that Walton was no mere toady to the great, but that his transparently honest character was loved for its own sake. He also showed some particularity in the choice of his friends, for Charles Cotton observes that "my father Walton will be seen twice in no man's company he does not like, and likes none but such as he believes to be very honest men". Had he been the friend and biographer of Donne alone, that fact had been the proof of his worth, for Donne's powerful mind would not have suffered the attentions of a fool or a charlatan. The terms on which he stood with Sir Henry Wotton and the rest would clinch the matter if further evidence were needed.

Walton's own spirit he has himself sketched while describing the death of his friend, Robert Sanderson: "Thus this pattern of meckness and primitive innocence changed this for a better life. 'Tis now too late to wish that my life may be like his; for I am in the eighty-fifth year of my age; but I beseech Almighty God that my death may; and do as carnestly beg of every reader to say Amen. Blessed is the man in whose spirit there is no suite (Ps. xxxii. 2)."

GEOFFREY KEYNES.

¹ In the National Portrait Gallery.

² Now in the possession of Dr. Samuel Lambert of New York.



THE COMPLEAT ANGLER

VTALTON'S treatise on fishing was printed five times in the seventeenth century. It was first published in 1653 with an engraved title-page and engravings of six fishes in the text. The second edition of 1655 contains many alterations and additions to the text. the number of pages being increased from 246 to 355, and the number of chapters from 13 to 21. Seven commendatory poems were prefixed. Four engravings of fishes were added. The third edition was printed in 1661 and re-issued in 1664, with a new title page. A commendatory poem by Brome previously printed is omitted, and there are a few alterations in the text. The most considerable additions are the "Postscript touching the Lawes of Angling" and the Index. The fourth edition was printed in 1668 and closely followed the third. The fifth edition, printed in 1676, introduced further changes. The text was revised and minor alterations made throughout. Considerable additions were also made, the length of the text being increased by 20 pages. The copper-plates were re-engraved. Further, the Second Part by Charles Cotton was added for the first time. Sometimes the sheets were bound up with a third work, the fourth edition of The Experienc'd Angler by Colonel Robert Venables, a general title page, The Universal Angler, being prefixed to the whole.

The Compleat Angler was reprinted 10 times in the eighteenth century, about 117 times in the nineteenth century, and between 30 and 40 times in the twentieth century. Of a single edition published by Cassell & Co. in 1886, 80,000 copies had been sold by 1914. The text of the fifth edition, 1676, has usually been followed, and the principal editors have been Moses Browne (1750), Sir John Hawkins (1760), John Major (1823), Sir Harris Nicolas (1836), Bethune (1847), R. B. Marston (1888), and R. le Gallienne (1897).

In the present volume the text has been taken from the fourth edition of 1668. Walton's Complete Writings have here been collected for the first time, and it would clearly be undesirable to include Cotton's contribution from the fifth edition. Furthermore the text was not improved by Walton's last revision, the increasing piety of his old age being reflected in the addition of a long and tedious discourse. The fourth edition seemed therefore to afford the best text for my present purpose, and this has been faithfully followed. It was accurately printed, and only a few corrections of detail have been found to be necessary. In order that nothing may be wanting for those who wish to know all, the principal changes and additions made in the fifth edition have been printed in an appendix. The preliminary matter has been left as it was printed in the fourth edition. The letter from Walton to Cotton which was prefixed to the Second Part in the fifth edition will be found among the Miscellaneous Writings. The Index of the fourth edition has been reprinted, but many additions (distinguished by the use of square brackets) have been made, by which its usefulness will be increased.

In the original edition the music on pp. 149, 150 was printed in two parts on opposite pages, one being upside down for the convenience of two singers, but these have (for typographical reasons) been here combined. The fishes have been redrawn by T. L. Poulton, and reproduced in line blocks.

THE LIVES

The Life of Donne

Walton's earliest Life, that of Dr. John Donne, was first printed with the LXXX Sermons, edited by John Donne the younger, in 1640. Some of his notes for the Life, which are now for the first time identified, were written on the fly-leaf of one of his books and are here printed among the Miscellaneous Writings. The Life of Donne was revised and printed for the second time in an extended form in 1658, on this occasion in a separate small volume. A Dedicatory Epitele to Sir

Robert Holt was prefixed and some letters were added at the end. It was printed for the third time in 1670 in the collected edition of the Lives. The Life itself underwent very little change, but the Dedicatory Epistle and a note 'To the Reader' were omitted, and instead of these there was inserted an Introduction consisting of the first paragraphs of the Life and a passage from 'To the Reader'. The letters printed at the end of the edition of 1658 were also omitted, though part of one of these and an extract from a new one were inserted in the text. There were also added "A hymn to God, my God, in my sickness" and Walton's "Elegy on Dr. Donne". The next edition of the Lives. printed in 1675, contained the fourth edition of the Life of Donne, and seems to have taken its description from this fact, being called the fourth edition, although it is really only the second. This contains an important addition to the Life of Donne in the form of a long account of Donne's vision of his wife seen while he was in Paris in 1612, together with the verses entitled "A Valediction forbidding mourning". which he had given her at parting.

The first two editions of the Life of Donne were accompanied by a portrait engraved by Merian, the third and fourth by an engraving by Lombart after the well-known portrait in the Deanery of St. Paul's Cathedral. The copper-plate in the present edition has been engraved from the same portrait, now in the National Portrait Gallery, from which Merian's plate was done.

The Life of Wotton

The Life of Sir Henry Wotton was first printed in 1651 with Reliquiae Wottonianae, a collection of Wotton's shorter pieces edited by Walton, who addressed his Epistle Dedicatory to the Lady Mary Wotton and her three daughters. Walton complained in a note that "the printer had fetched it so fast by pieces from the relator, that he never saw what he had writ all together till it was past the press". A revised second edition, "with large additions", was printed in 1654. The Life, without the dedication or the Advertisement to the Reader, but with an Elegy by Abraham Cowley, was printed for the third time

with the collected Lives in 1670. It appeared for the fourth time in the third edition of Reliquiae Wottonianse, 1672, with a new dedication addressed to the Earl of Chesterfield, and for the fifth time in the second edition (called the fourth) of the Lives, 1675, as before without dedication or Advertisement. It was printed for the sixth and last time without alteration in the fourth edition of Reliquiae Wottonianse, 1685. Walton made many alterations of detail when the Life of Wotton appeared in the Lives of 1670; it was thereafter left almost unchanged.

The first two editions of Reliquiae Wottonianae contained a portrait of Wotton engraved by Lombart. This was re-engraved by W. Dolle for subsequent editions, and the same portrait has been engraved for the present issue.

The Life of Hooker

Walton's Life of Hooker was first printed as a separate volume in 1665. It had a dedication addressed to the Bishop of Winchester, a letter to Walton from Dr. King, Bishop of Chichester, and an address 'To the Reader'. An epitaph by Cooper, an Appendix, and Cranmer's Letter to Hooker were printed at the end. The Life was printed for the second time with Hooker's Works in 1666, the dedication to the Bishop of Winchester being omitted. It appeared for the third time in the Lives of 1670. The address 'To the Reader' was now omitted, and King's letter to Walton was put at the beginning of the volume before the Life of Donne. It is otherwise unchanged. It was printed for the fourth time in the Lives of 1675. The various reprintings have alterations only of detail. The first edition was without a portrait; one by Faithorne appeared in the Works of 1666, and an engraving by Dolle was added to the Lives. The copper-plate in the present issue has been engraved from the painting in the National Portrait Gallery.

The Life of Herbert

Walton's Life of Herbert was first printed as a small separate volume in 1670, with the lines by Samuel Woodforde prefixed, and with letters from Herbert and Donne added at the end. It was printed for the second time in the same form with the Lives of 1670. The third

printing was prefixed to the tenth edition of Herbert's Temple, 1674, the commendatory verses and letters being omitted. It was printed for the fourth time in the second edition of the Lives, 1675, and for the fifth time in the eleventh edition of the Temple, 1678. It has been added to many subsequent editions of Herbert's Poems.

A portrait engraved by R. White was prefixed to the first edition of the Life, and the same plate, or a copy of it, was used with all the reprintings enumerated above. White's original drawing is still in existence, and from this the copper-plate in the present issue has been made.

The Life of Sanderson

Walton's Life of Sanderson was written and published after the appearance of the two editions of the Lives, and with these, therefore, it was not originally associated. It was first printed in 1678 in a separate volume with a dedicatory epistle to the Bishop of Winchester, and with the letters from Dr. Pierce and the Bishop of Lincoln appended. The second half of the volume consisted of various tracts by Sanderson and a sermon by Hooker. Walton added a postscript to the Life explaining that he would have liked to carry out revisions if time had permitted, and hoped to do so for a second printing. The book was never reprinted in the same form or in the author's life-time, but Walton had made a number of alterations in the Life, and it appeared in its revised form with Sanderson's Sermons in 1686, the dedicatory epistle being omitted.

An engraved portrait by R. White was prefixed to the first edition of the Life. The same painting as was used by White has served as the source of the copper-plate in the present issue.

THE PRESENT TEXT

The first four Lives, as already mentioned, were collected by Walton and printed together in 1670. This volume was reprinted with changes in 1675 and called the fourth edition. A third edition of the Lives, 1679 (called the fifth), is recorded by Lowndes, but this I have never seen. It is possible that a few copies of the second edition were issued with a new title-page in that year. The edition of 1675 has been used

as the source of the present text of the Lives of Donne, Hooker, Wotton, and Herbert, as it was only then that they reached their final forms. Most previous editors have printed the Life of Sanderson from the first edition of 1678, not realising that it was later revised by the author. The present text is taken from Sanderson's Sermons, 1686, and so is also given in its final form.

All Walton's dedications printed with the earlier editions and afterwards omitted have been restored to their proper positions, with dates added where necessary so that their sources can be identified.

The original editions of the Lives were accurately printed, and only a few minor corrections have been made.

LOVE AND TRUTH

Of the anonymous tract entitled Love and Truth, first printed in 1680, only two copies are known to exist. One is in the library of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and was formerly the property of Archbishop Sancroft (1617-1693), who has written in it: "Is. Walton's 2 Letters conc. ye Distemps of ye Times, 1680". The leaf following the title-page is headed 'The Author to the Stationer', but the word Author has been corrected to Publisher, apparently in Walton's hand. The second copy is in the British Museum; it is similar to the other except that the second leaf is headed "To Mr. Henry Brome", who was the publisher. This preface is signed N. N., and the two letters constituting the tract are signed R. W. It was natural that Walton, a peaceable man, who was at that date in the employ of Bishop Morley, should be unwilling to acknowledge the authorship of a controversial tract. Also it is unlikely that Archbishop Sancroft would be in error in his ascription, which he cannot have written long after the publication of the tract as he died in 1693. Walton's authorship was accepted by Dr. Thomas Zouch, who appended a reprint to his edition of the Lives in 1795, but most subsequent editors have refused to believe that Walton had any hand in the work, or have only admitted that it may have been edited by him. On the other hand, R. H. Shepherd, who collected Walton's miscellaneous writings in 1878, was quite con-

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vinced that Walton was the writer. An independent reading of the work has left no doubt in my own mind that Love and Truth was written by Walton. The general impression left by the style and matter is strong, and is amply confirmed by the more detailed evidence to be derived from the characteristic use of peculiar words and from the parallel passages to be found in Walton's other writings, pointed out by Dr. Zouch in his notes. Also there are references to Sir Henry Wotton and to the Life of Herbert, "as it is plainly and I hope truly writ by Mr. Isaac Walton", which are not likely to have been made by another. Finally, the quotation from Thessalonians, "Study to be quiet", etc., twice used in the Letters and printed at the end of the first letter, which is dated 1667, was also used by Walton at the conclusion of the fourth edition of The Compleat Angler, 1668. The coincidence is remarkable if Walton was not the author of both works. It is true that the book is a serious one, and that Walton has not permitted himself to introduce many of his lighter touches. This fact may have influenced some other editors, the wish not to print it having been father to the belief that it was by another hand.

The present text of Love and Truth has been printed from the copy in the British Museum.

MISCELLANEOUS WRITINGS

Walton was the author of many occasional verses, epitaphs, and letters, and only one previous attempt to collect them seems to have been made. The majority of them will be found in R. H. Shepherd's Waltonians, published by B. M. Pickering in 1878. To these I have added a variety of writings, the most important being the epitaph on David Hookham, the verses to Jeremiah Rich, and the notes for the Life of Hales. The sources of all the individual pieces are recorded in the notes that follow.

Inscription on his Marriage Chest

The chest is now in the possession of the Earl of Warwick at Warwick Castle. A drawing of it by E. H. New is given in The Compleat

Angler, ed. Richard le Gallienne, London, John Lane, 1897, p. xxxvii.

Elegy on John Donne

This Elegy was first printed in Poems by J. D., London, 4°, 1633. It was reprinted in the second edition of Donne's Poems, 8°, 1635, with the first three lines altered to the form given in the footnote. It was printed again with many more alterations in Walton's Lives, 1670, and will be found in this form at p. 271 of the present volume.

Lines on a Portrait of Donne

The pottrait beneath which these lines are found was engraved by William Marshall for the second edition of Donne's Poems, 8°, 1635. The engraving is inscribed: Anno Dii. 1591. Ætatis suae 18.

Commendatory Verses to the Merchant's Mappe of Commerce by Lewes Roberts

These lines were printed in The Merchant's Mappe of Commerce: wherein the Universall Manner and Matter of Trade is compendiously benalled. By Lewes Roberts, Merchant. London, f°, 1638. Second edition, 1681.

Notes for the Life of Donne

These notes were written by Walton inside the cover of his copy of Eusebius, Socrates, and Eusgrius, Ecclesiestical Histories, London, f.°, 1636. The volume is preserved with others of Walton's books in Salisbury Cathedral Library. The notes have previously been printed in The Compleat Angler, ed. Sir Harris Nicolas, 1836, and ed. R. le Callisenne, 1897, p. 390. The purpose of the notes has not been identified before, though there are a number of indications that they were intended for the Life of Donne. The third line, for instance, "like doc dones letter to Tilman", seems to refer to the line, "As Angels out of clouds, from Pulpits speake", which was used by Walton in the Life. A few of the references are to works published later than 1640, eg. "the elegies on Cartwrite", 1651; but changes in the writing suggest that the notes were not all written at the same time.

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Preface to the Shepheard's Oracles by Fra. Quarles

Printed in The Shepheard's Oracles: Delivered in Certain Eglogues. By Fra: Quarles. London, 4°, 1646.

Notes in his Prayer Book

Walton's Prayer Book (London, Barker, 1639) contains these notes on family events written in his hand. The book was in 1836 in the possession of his descendants. The present text is printed from that given by Sir H. Nicolas, The Compleat Angler, 1836, p. cxlviii. The epitaph on his wife is inscribed on her tomb in Worcester Cathedral.

Epitaph on David Hookham

This epitaph is inscribed on a tombstone at Ashbourne, Derbyshire, near Cotton Hall. It was first printed in the Gentleman's Magazine for October, 1830 (vol. c., pt. ii., p. 296).

On Dr. Richard Sibbes

This couplet was written by Walton in his copy of Sibbes's Returning Backslider, London, 4°, 1650. The volume is preserved in Salisbury Cathedral Library.

On the Death of William Cartwright

Printed in Comedies, Tragi-comedies, with other Poems, by Mr. William Cartwright, late Student of Christ-Church in Oxford, and Proctor of the University. London, 8°, 1651.

Preface to Skeffington's Hero of Lorenzo

Printed in The Heroe of Lorenzo, or, The Way to Eminencie and Perfection. A piece of serious Spanish wit. Originally in that language written, and in English by Sir John Skeffington, Kt. and Barronet. London, 12°, 1662.

Commendatory Verses to Sparke's Scintillula Altaris

These lines were printed in the first edition of Scintillula Altaris, or, a Pious Reflection on Primitive Devotion: as to the Feasts and Fasts of the

Christian Church, Orthodoxally Revived. By Edward Sparke, B.D. London, 8°, 1652. They are not found in later editions of the book.

Note in Sanderson's Sermons

Written in Walton's hand at the end of the preface to Twenty Setmons in his copy of Sanderson's Sermons, 1657. Here printed from The Compleat Angler, ed. Nicolas, 1836, p. xcvi.

Daman and Dorus: To Alexander Brome

Printed in Songs and other Poems. By Alex. Brome, Gent. London, 8°, 1661. Also found in the second and third editions, 1664 and 1668,

Lines to Christopher Harvey

These lines were printed in Christopher Harvey's The Synagogue, or The Shadow of the Temple. Sacred Peems and Private Ejaculations. In imitation of Mr. George Herbert. The fourth edition. London, 12°, 1661. They do not appear in the first three editions.

Commendatory Letter to Colonel Robert Venables

Printed in The Experienced Angler; or Angling improved: being a general Discourse of Angling. London, 1662, 12°. The engravings of fish in this volume were the same as used in Walton's Angler.

Letter to Edward Ward

The original of this letter is in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. It was first printed in Notes and Queries, May 17, 1856.

Notes for the Life of Hales

These notes were transcribed by Sir H. Nicolas from Fulman's MSS., C.C.C. Oxon., vol. xii, and were printed in his edition of The Compleat Angler, 1836, pp. cl-clv. The present text is taken from this source. Nicolas states that the notes are dated 20 Oct., 1673.

Letter to Richard Marriott

The original of this letter is at Corpus Christi College, Oxford. It was first printed in The Compleat Angler, ed. Sir Harris Nicolas, 1836.

Letter to Charles Cotton

Written to Cotton by Walton when returning the proofs of Cotton's The Complete Angler, Part II. The letter was added to this work when it was appended to the fifth edition of Walton's Compleat Anglet, 1676.

Commendatory Verses to Jeremiah Rich

Printed in Rich Redivivus, or Mr. Jeremiah Rich's Short-Hand Improved. London, 1676.

Note on Land in Halfhed

From a manuscript in the possession of the Isaac Walton Cottage Trust. Printed by permission of the Trustees. This land is also referred to in his will.

Preface to Chalkhill's Thealma and Clearchus

Printed in Thealma and Clearchus, a Pastoral History, in smooth and easie Verse. Written long since, by John Chalkhill, Esq., an Acquaintance and Friend of Edmund Spencer. London, 1683. The poem was left unfinished, and it terminates with the half-line: "Thealma lives . . ." Walton then adds: "And here the Author dy'd, and I hope the Reader will be sorry".

Some authorities have attributed the whole work to Walton, but there is no proof of this, and his second wife was connected with a family named Chalkhill (see D.N.B.).

Inscription in "The Universal Angler"

This inscription was written by Walton in a copy of the fifth edition of The Angler, 1676. It is here printed from the original, now in the Morgan Library, New York.

Letter to John Aubrey

The original of this letter is among Aubrey's MSS. in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Aubrey has added the following note: "This account I received from Mr. Isaac Walton (who wrote Dr.

Donne's Life, &c.) Decemb. 2, 1680, he being then eighty-seven years of age. This is his own hand-writing."

Izaak Walton's Will

The present text is taken from a transcript of the original document printed by Sir H. Nicolas in The Compleat Angler, 1836. There is an official copy of the will in Harvard College Library, Cambridge, Mass.

